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### Contents.

#### ASIA.

SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.: "THE MYSORE STATE—AN ORIENTAL LESSON IN INDIAN ADMINISTRATION."

"AN IMPERIALIST": "SIMLA AND PREFERENTIAL TARIFFS."

R. G. CORBET: "THE VITAL IMPORTANCE OF OUR FISCAL RELATIONS IN CEYLON."

G. A. GRIERSON: "THE LANGUAGES OF INDIA AND THE CENSUS OF 1901."

A. KENNEDY: "THE INDIAN UNIVERSITIES BILL OF 1903."

W. HUGHES, M.I.C.E. (Late Chief Engineer for Irrigation, Madras): "MADRAS IRRIGATION AND INDIAN IRRIGATION POLICY."

#### ORIENTALIA.

PROFESSOR L. MILLS, D.D.: "THE CYRUS VASE INSCRIPTION AND THE BEHISTUN."

#### GENERAL.

D. H. R. TWOMEY: "THE THATHANABAING—HEAD OF THE BUDDHIST MONKS OF BURMA."

E. H. PARKER: "THE SERVICES OF THE TURKS IN JOINING THE CIVILIZATION OF EUROPE AND ASIA."

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL G. E. GERINI: "A RECENT TRIP TO THE ANCIENT RUINS OF KAMBOJA."

#### PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

#### CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS:

THE DOMICILED IN INDIA.—A LOST MS.—GONDOKORO.—UGANDA PROTECTORATE.—SOUTHERN NIGERIA.

#### S. AND NOTICES.

The Soul of Japan.—China Past and Present.—A Digest of Anglo-Muhammadan

The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy.—In Russian Turkestan.—A History

of the Uttermost East.—The Autobiography of Lieutenant-General

Henry Smith.—The Army of the Indian Moghuls, etc.

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APRIL, 1904.

THE MYSORE STATE:  
AN OBJECT-LESSON IN INDIAN ADMINISTRATION.

BY SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.

IN more than one branch of Imperial policy, events have justified the far-seeing sagacity of Lord Lytton—a sagacity that was never duly appreciated during his life-time. Of course he was not infallible. Like all rulers with strong powers of initiative, he sometimes started off on a wrong tack. Also he had his foibles; and as party-spirit at that time had unhappily intruded itself, quite unnecessarily, into the region of Indian politics, his rare mistakes and his occasional eccentricities were exaggerated by partisan rancour to such an extent as largely to obscure the remarkable wisdom and prescience of nearly the whole of his Indian policy. He organized on reasonable lines our benevolent famine policy. He laid the foundations, deep and strong, of a frontier policy that has exorcised the spectre of Russian invasion by rendering it practically impossible. The Imperialism of modern India—against which even the most ill-conditioned Little Englander has now hardly a word to say—was the construction of his fertile brain and of those who aided him.

These were some of his achievements. But there were no subjects nearer his heart than the increase of the dignity

of the rulers of Native States as Princes or Kings under the Empire, the regularizing of their status, and the organization of local self-government in the hands of loyal Indian-born statesmen and politicians. I believe it is not too much to say that it was Lord Lytton's visit to Southern India during the course of the famine of 1877-78 that paved the way for the "rendition" of Mysore in 1881, the re-establishment of the ancient ruling dynasty of that great kingdom after fifty years of direct British rule, together with the provision of a complete *imperium in imperio*, in the shape of an administration founded largely on British models in the hands of Indian-born statesmen.

I had the privilege on three occasions of visiting Mysore, and staying there for some time as the guest of the late illustrious Maharaja in the years 1887, 1892, and 1894; and again in 1897 I was there as the guest of the Resident at Bangalore, and of the late accomplished Dewan, Sir Sheshadri Iyer, at Mysore City. I have thus enjoyed considerable opportunities of personally examining the results of the rendition policy and of watching the progress of this most interesting State. And now I have just been reading, with the deepest interest and pleasure, the reports of the meeting of the Representative Assembly of Mysore, with the inaugural speech of His Highness the present Maharaja, and the address of the Dewan, Sir P. N. Krishna Murtti; and with these I have had the advantage of reading the admirable speech of His Highness the Maharaja in opening the Madras Industrial Arts Exhibition. The Dewan—probably one of the ablest and most loyal administrators in India—took occasion, in his address to the Representative Assembly, to review the progress of the State from 1881 to the present time; and truly the record is a marvellous one, in which both the Maharaja and his enlightened Prime Minister may well take a warm patriotic pride, and they deserve the heartiest congratulations of every patriotic politician in the British Empire, whether English or Indian-born. If ever a policy has

been amply justified by the event, Lord Lytton's rendition policy is here justified to the very utmost.

When full personal powers, high dignity, and practically unbounded authority—subject only to an undefined general responsibility to the Paramount Power—are centred in one personage, so much depends on his individual character and abilities, that critics of Lord Lytton's policy have often been disposed to condemn it on this ground. But high responsibilities commonly stimulate corresponding powers and a corresponding sense of duty; and we may rejoice to observe that that has certainly been the case in Mysore. The late Maharaja, in his devotion to his public duties, set before himself the inspiring example of his suzerain, our late beloved Queen, as he used often to tell his friends; and I honestly think that few public men, either in India or in England, have attained to a higher standard of public work. And whether we judge the present young Maharaja from his speeches, or from the public record of his work, or from the speech of Sir Donald Robertson at Robertsonpet, and the interesting description of that work here given us in the address of the Dewan, I think it is evident that he is proving himself the worthy son of a worthy sire. In this respect the Dewan's address is particularly valuable, as it deals comprehensively with the first year of the Maharaja's rule, and shows that his work in that period evinces remarkable industry and a keen and intelligent interest in the welfare of the people of Mysore, such as to do the highest credit to the teachings of the late Maharaja and of Her Highness the Maharani-Regent. During the year over 800 cases had been submitted to the Maharaja personally for his orders. These cases concerned matters of public interest and importance of every conceivable variety, extending, as it has been well observed, "from the Imperial Transport Corps to the eradication of spike disease in sandalwood-trees, and from the reorganization of the judicial courts of the State to the vaccination of prisoners." Including the hearing of petitions and the

cases sent up for decision from all the various Departments of State, the Maharaja is shown to have himself personally dealt with over 900 cases, extending over every branch of the administration.

The meeting of the Representative Assembly of Mysore in October, 1903, was the first that had been held for two years, for in 1902 the prevalence of plague rendered a meeting impossible. Even in 1903 the shadow of the plague still hung heavily over the land, and naturally diminished the attendance of provincial representatives; and it is significant of the energy and courage of both the Maharaja and the Dewan that the meeting was held, in spite of this grave obstacle, with a success that was attested by the whole press of India.

The inaugural speech of the Maharaja was both dignified and statesmanlike. Speaking to the chosen representatives of his people for the first time, His Highness very properly and appropriately seized the occasion to indicate, with equal courtesy and firmness, the public advantages to be secured by these meetings and by the labours of the representatives. The Assembly contains in itself the germ of the democratic idea, and may in course of future years develop still further in that direction. Any undue haste or premature action in this development, in a community whose best sentiments and traditions have always been more or less aristocratic, would be a misfortune for the people, as well as for their ruler and for the country at large. As the young Maharaja well observed, in opening the deliberations of the Assembly: "The sphere and functions of this Assembly must necessarily have their limitations, and it is obviously not in a position to accept any portion of the responsibility for the good government of the State which must exclusively remain with me." But His Highness hastened to add that all testimonies "speak highly of the moderation, the intelligence, and the practical good sense, that have characterized your discussions in the past." And he placed on record his opinion that "one of the conspicuous results of this

‘Assembly has been the consolidation of the sense of a common interest between the Government and the people.’”

Nor was the Maharaja content with merely noting the necessary limitations on the responsibilities of the Assembly and the broad and general scope of its discussions. He pointed out that (1) it provides a ready means whereby the people of Mysore can make their requirements, aspirations, and grievances known to the Government; (2) it affords the Government an opportunity for stating what it has accomplished during the past year, and what is intended in the next; and thus (3) it enables the Government and the people to understand each other better, and removes all possible grounds for misconception regarding the measures of Government. The clear and lucid address of Sir P. N. Krishna Murtti, and the comments of the Indian Press upon it and upon the leading features of his administration, show that these great advantages are fully appreciated by the subjects of the Maharaja, and also by their neighbours in British and feudatory India.

Before considering that address in somewhat further detail, I wish to advert to the admirable speech with which the Maharaja opened the Madras Industrial Arts Exhibition. The *Pioneer* of Allahabad aptly describes it as “a thoughtful and stimulating speech.” Pointing out that the object of such exhibitions is “to convey to the public tangible evidence of the condition and progress of local industries, and to suggest to those interested latent possibilities of improvement,” the Maharaja illustrated his point by reference to the very promising aluminium industry of Madras, to the improvements effected in silk-reeling in Mr. Tata’s factory at Bangalore, and to similar enterprises. Like the Gaekwār of Baroda at Ahmedabad last year, the Maharaja had some words of real sound common-sense to offer to his audience on those trade questions that have been exercising the minds of most politicians of late in their relation to fiscal arrangements. “It is possible,” he observed, “as we know from Parliamentary reports, to



demonstrate by statistics the increasing prosperity of the country generally. On the other hand, we in India know that the ancient indigenous handicrafts are decaying, that the fabrics for which India was renowned in the past are supplanted by the products of Western looms, and that our industries are not displaying that renewed vitality which will enable them to compete successfully in the home or the foreign market. . . . It is time for us in India to be up and doing. New markets must be found, new methods adopted, and new handicrafts developed." It is a fact of the highest promise for the industrial future of India that two of her greatest potentates—the Maharaja of Mysore and the Gaekwār of Baroda—are agreed in urging their countrymen to drop those doctrines of *laissez faire, laissez aller*, that are so dear to some of our English politicians, and to throw off that "commercial repose" that is recommended by some of our leaders here in England. Indian economists, fortunately, take a wider and broader view of the teachings of modern economical science than that which comes within the scope of the eternal réchauffage of Ricardo and Mill that forms the whole equipment, in this respect, of many British politicians.

And this reflection leads me to observe that the Dewan's address, to which I now return, shows that the financial position of the Mysore State is such as might arouse the envy of any other administration in the British Empire. Fossils of the Free Food persuasion may be galvanized into screaming by the shock of hearing what a good thing the State is making, alike for its own revenues and for the profit and convenience of many of its producers, out of the great national enterprise of harnessing the Cauvery Falls for the production of electric power. And this is only one of its many up-to-date enterprises. And the fact remains that in Mysore, notwithstanding great special charges, such as those of the Coronation Durbar at Delhi and of the installation of the Maharaja himself; notwithstanding the extraordinarily generous contribution that is annually paid

by Mysore to the funds of the central Government of India in return for our protection, in the shape of a subsidy of 35 lakhs ; and notwithstanding a most liberal expenditure, in every up-to-date direction, for the good of the people of the State, the Dewan is this year able to announce a substantial surplus of revenue over expenditure, to the extent of 6 lakhs, which would have been  $13\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs but for the special charges. And not satisfied even with this very satisfactory state of the public purse, Sir P. N. Krishna Murtti announces his intention to build up—out of such sources as the revenues derived from the Cauvery Electric Power and from the royalties on gold-mining—a reserve fund or invested surplus of at least 1 crore to meet possible famine ; whilst he states that he will not be content unless he can show, at the beginning of each financial year, a regular working balance of 75 lakhs.

That this enviable financial position is largely due to the wise administration, at once careful and enterprising, of the recent rulers of Mysore is obvious when we remember that the State is situated well within the famine zone of India, and has, in fact, suffered both from famine and from plague in a remarkable degree. It is true that the Government of India in Lord Lytton's time, recognising the heavy drain on the resources of Mysore caused by its repeated famines, agreed that for a considerable number of years a large remission should be made in the amount of the subsidy demanded from her by the central Government of India as payment for the national defence and for protection in general. And it seems to be understood that the very heavy annual charge of 35 lakhs on the revenues of the State in this respect is to a certain extent dependent on its financial prosperity, and might probably be remitted in whole or in part in the case of famine or other serious national calamity. Sir P. N. Krishna Murtti points out that the repeated surpluses of the very successful administration of his predecessor, the late Dewan, Sir Sheshadri Iyer, had only been rendered possible by these conces-

sions of the Government of India ; and it is because of this that, in the address now under consideration, while announcing many great and valuable boons to the people of Mysore in addition to those already enjoyed by them, the Dewan declares himself absolutely determined to persevere in the thrifty and cautious policy adverted to above.

Of course, as all the world knows, much of the State's prosperity, and of the remarkable elasticity of its finances, is due to the marvellous richness of its gold deposits. The gold royalties now realize annually about 16 lakhs ; and the Dewan states that the income from this source is "not likely to diminish—at least, for some years to come." On the contrary, it is quite evident that Mysore gold-mining is in its infancy even yet ; for there are only about eleven full-power mines as yet at work, and the history of some of these, such as the Mysore and the Champion Reefs, sounds like a Monte Cristo story, for in some cases they return every year to their fortunate shareholders a far larger sum than their entire capital. And this return seems a steadily progressive one ; for while last year the amount of gold obtained was 277 lakhs, this year it was over 330 lakhs of rupees. Moreover, it is to be remembered that this vast amount of mineral wealth is drawn from only one small district of Mysore, that of Kolar ; and at first was only attained by dogged perseverance—for even the famous Mysore mine, the pioneer of all, was at one time on the point of being abandoned for lack of initial success. And, further, the geological experts, both those employed by the Government of India and those attached to the Government of Mysore, have shown, beyond all possibility of doubt, that at least equally rich gold formations are scattered over many other districts of the State besides that of Kolar ; indeed, on some of the outcrops of these other reefs the remains of ancient workings are so extensive as to prove that at one time their surface richness was very great. Mysore is evidently destined to become the Rand of India, but with this enormous advantage over the Rand

of the Transvaal—that it possesses an unlimited supply of the best and cheapest labour in the world.

And here, again, this last consideration leads me to the reflection that the possibilities of future manufacturing industries, suggested by that wonderful enterprise the Cauvery Falls Electric Power installation, seem vast beyond the dreams of avarice. We all know what the Americans have done in this way at Niagara and elsewhere. We all know that competent observers declare that the sub-Alpine districts of Northern Italy are likely in the near future to rival our Lancashire cotton industry, simply by reason of the unlimited supply of electric power from their Alpine torrents. The same reason is producing a remarkable outburst of manufacturing energy in Switzerland, Norway, and other countries possessing large reserves of water-power convertible into electric power. Now, here at the Cauvery Falls, from the very first installation the Maharaja's Government derives a revenue of over 12 lakhs which will rise to over 17 lakhs in January, 1905, when the second installation will be completed. Nearly every district in Mysore is rich in this water-power, opening out potentialities, in these days of modern electrical science, exactly similar to those that sixty years ago were offered by the discovery of a rich coal-field.

In all these circumstances the future prosperity of Mysore may well be regarded as assured.

Of the many excellent undertakings of which the Dewan has something to tell us, one of the most promising—that of Agricultural Banks, so much needed for the development of Mysorean agriculture and for the relief and convenience of the agricultural population—has hitherto not been the success that was expected. There is nothing that Sir William Wedderburn has done for India more valuable than his persistent advocacy of these financial aids to Indian agriculture; and I think that there are now very few who do not believe that they will do a great work. Sir P. N. Krishna Murtti shows his faith in this principle, his

indomitable courage, and the resource which will enable him to overcome all difficulties, in his method of dealing with this important question. Like Sir Charles Tennant and the early adventurers in the Mysore gold-mine, the Dewan refuses to be daunted by initial want of success. This is what he said to the Assembly on the subject :

“The scheme, so far, may be said to have failed, primarily for want of co-operative spirit on the part of the people, and secondarily for want of adequate supervision on the part of the organizers of the Banks as to the purposes for which the funds were applied. Probably the entire financing of the scheme by direct grants from Government tended to weaken the motive for self-help and co-operation. It does not seem desirable to give large grants, even if the Government can afford to do so. On the other hand, if Government can, under certain declared conditions, give its guarantee for repayments of deposits of money made by the public, help in the collection of the dues, in the investigation of the value of lands, and in the application of the money borrowed for the purpose intended, and devise speedy means of disposing of claims against borrowers on the part of the Banks, etc., and if these measures attract deposits of savings and advances of money for agricultural loans, then may it be said that these Banks will stimulate the growth of thrift, mutual confidence, credit, and co-operation. The subject is of great importance, and requires to be approached on these lines, which can only be done after the present Banks are placed on a tolerably satisfactory basis. But there can be no question of the imperative necessity of cheap loans to agriculturists whose capital is locked up in their lands and stocks and who suffer from periodical uncertainties of the seasons.”

No less an area than 20,000 acres of what ought to be highly-valuable coffee-growing land in the State of Mysore has of late years gone out of cultivation—2,500 acres in last year alone—owing to the British craze for Free Trade, which has placed Indian and Ceylon coffee at the mercy of Continental tariffs and Brazilian and other competition. It is pleasant to see that the Mysore Government has taken the matter in hand with characteristic promptitude and energy. Of course they can do very little, for great is Diana of the Free Fooders and Free Importers! But a conference between the planters and a representative of the Government was held, and, in the words of the Dewan's address, “the fullest assurance of sympathy and help on the part of Government has been given to this

enterprising body of gentlemen, whose industry has been of so much benefit to this country." Nor was the Mysore Government content with offering barren assurances, but a substantial subsidy was given towards enabling the planting industry to exhibit at the Louisiana Exposition of 1904.

Most interesting details are given by the Dewan of the achievements of the Government in the past, and of their intentions for the future, in all those directions in which the fostering care of the State for its subjects can best be given—in the improvement of methods of agriculture and manufacture, in technical education, in irrigation, in forestry, in water-supply and sanitation, and in numerous other directions. The record of good work done and of high resolves entertained is throughout an inspiring one, and will be cheering reading to every well-wisher of India. I warmly and heartily commend the study of this address to every member of Parliament, and, indeed, to everyone who takes an intelligent interest in our greatest dependency.

## SIMLA AND PREFERENTIAL TARIFFS.

BY AN IMPERIALIST.

*PARTURIUNT montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.* For some weeks or months the usual oracular paragraphs and quasi-inspired articles in the *Pioneer* have warned an expectant world that Simla was in labour over the question of Imperial Preferential Tariffs. Long ago Mr. Chamberlain informed Sir M. M. Bhownaggee that he was unable to deal with the Indian aspect of this great question, for the very simple reason that no information had been vouchsafed to him from the accredited sources of Indian intelligence. The Free Fooders attributed this fact either to Mr. Chamberlain's innate perversity or to his crass ignorance. Less prejudiced people thought it was probably due to Lord George Hamilton's determined opposition at the India Office. But it was generally believed that Lord Curzon's Imperial leanings—even if somewhat hampered at first by respect for the opinions of his senior and superior at Whitehall—would find some means of bringing India into line with the United Kingdom and the colonies; or else that, in the alternative, however reluctantly, he would show overwhelming reasons for the maintenance of a fiscal system which, though absolutely controlled by the British Parliament, forces Britishers and Indians to treat each other in these things as foreigners, with no more concern for each other's trade interests than for those of Russians or Germans.

The Blue Book has at last given us the "Views of the Government of India on the Question of Preferential Tariffs." The unusual form of the title given to this Dispatch, and the use of the word "views" in the plural, show a saving sense of humour on the part of the printer or editor. He does not think it necessary to call it the "Various and hopelessly-conflicting views of the Govern-

ment of India," for that character is clearly inscribed on every paragraph of a State paper that is probably one of the most incoherent, inconsequential, and illogical that Simla has ever produced.

It may, however, at once be said that the minute by Sir Edward Law attached to this "viewy" document affords a remarkably clear and exhaustive account of the present condition of the import and export trade of India. It is accompanied, too, by tables which are valuable so far as they go, but that is, unhappily, only so far as the existing commerce of India is concerned, and without any comparative data for judging of its tendencies. These figures teach us something of the statics of Indian trade, but nothing of its dynamics. But we cannot help thinking that even these figures, partial and defective as they clearly are, prove enough to justify "views" much more decided and virile than any that can be gathered from the impotent letter signed by Lord Curzon and his five assessors.

The statement of views commences by pointing out that Lord George Hamilton only permitted these gentlemen to state their views on the Resolution of the Colonial Prime Ministers in 1902 "from the point of view of Indian interests," not from the point of view of the interests of the British Empire as a whole. So they do not say one word on the Imperial aspect of this question—as to whether it may not be well to teach Englishmen and Indians to have a brotherly regard for each other's trade interests, and thus to feel that there are some material, as well as sentimental, privileges attaching to the citizenship of the British Empire. Yet is not this a consideration that should have such weight with the Government of India as to induce them to strive for some means of bringing it about? The Free Fooders tell us they have succeeded in securing the free, or almost free, import of Lancashire cotton-goods into India, simply by assuring the Indian peoples that we know that Free Trade in general is best for them. Yes, but have those assurances induced the Indian peoples to love either



us or Free Trade any the more? Will Free Trade enable our Lancashire manufacturers to compete in the Indian market with the cheap surplusage of the myriad mills of America and Germany and Italy, protected in their home markets? And might not the Indian peoples be inclined to look with a more favourable eye on the free import of our Lancashire cotton-goods, if they saw that that free import was a tangible *quid pro quo* from them for the preferences accorded to them in England and the colonies, and not merely a benefit filched from Indian revenues at the expense of Indian industries, under the pretence of a dogma that not a living soul outside the United Kingdom nowadays believes in? At present we order the Indians to admit our Lancashire goods free, by a motion in the House of Commons proposed by a Lancashire member; and the Indians very naturally declare that that gentleman's references to Free Trade are simply Pecksniffian. The admission of India into a British Commercial Union, on give and take terms, to be settled by free and fair negotiations between the representatives of India and ourselves, would at once raise India (as Sir Edward Sassoon has wisely observed) almost to the rank of a self-governing Power; and would not our Indian fellow-subjects appreciate that somewhat more than the hypocritical pretences of the Free Importers?

But to all these considerations the Government of India has nothing to say in this Dispatch, because its "views" thereon were not invited by Lord George Hamilton.

Next the Dispatch proceeds to point out with some asperity that the Government of India is asked to determine on *à priori* grounds their attitude towards a policy which has only been put before them by Lord George Hamilton in the most general and indefinite terms—"hedged round with qualifications and provisoes calculated to admit of almost any limitation, variation, or exception when applied in practice to the conditions of any particular colony." "There is nothing," these unfortunate and helpless gentlemen declare,

“before us in the nature of a definite scheme on the suitability of which to Indian circumstances we can pronounce with confidence.” Well, they certainly have *not* “pronounced with confidence” in this Dispatch; and as a matter of fact, nearly every opinion stated therein in one paragraph is either materially qualified or altogether traversed in another!

This “fumbling” with a great Imperial question of the highest political importance is in striking contrast with the manly utterances, so far as they have yet been heard, of those who are best qualified to speak on the commercial and industrial aspects of the question. No one who knows anything whatever of India practically—we do not count mere theorists like Sir Edgar Vincent and Mr. Winston Churchill, who can only get their ideas at second-hand—will have any doubt as to the great weight of the opinion of Sir Charles Elliott (the author of the Report of the Famine Commission), of Sir Edward Buck, of Sir Edward Sassoon, of Sir George Arbuthnot, of Mr. Eden. At the recent meeting of the Calcutta Trades Association, the speech of the Master on this question, full of the Imperial instincts of our British race, is in refreshing contrast with the “quilllets and quiddities” of Lord Curzon and his colleagues, whose only concern is whether India cannot gain twopence halfpenny by close trade relations with Germany or Russia instead of twopence farthing by a fiscal alliance with England and the colonies. And the same Imperial tone pervaded the speech of the President of the Madras Chamber of Commerce at its last annual meeting.

It is, indeed, highly probable that the fumbling of the Government of India is due to the immense preoccupations just now of Lord Curzon; for not even His Excellency's severest critic would venture to suggest that he has not, as a rule, the courage of his convictions. Whatever may be individual opinion as to the merits or demerits of his handling of such difficult questions as the Official Secrets

Bill, or the treatment of Europeans in criminal cases, or the advance into Tibet, no one can deny that he has handled them all very boldly, not to mention other equally contentious matters. But his heart has always been on the northern frontier of India, if not beyond; so possibly unexpected timidity in regard to Fiscal Imperialism may be explained and excused by absorption in the military aspects of the same Imperialism.

There are, however, two points on which the Government of India gives no uncertain sound in this Dispatch—and on these points the decision here given may be accepted as authoritative and final.

The first is with regard to the silly pedantry—started by Lord George Hamilton at Ealing, and subsequently harped on by such lesser lights of the Free Food persuasion as Sir Edgar Vincent and Mr. Churchill—that pretended to be alarmed lest the adoption by India of a Preferential Tariff in favour of England might result in India coercing the Secretary of State and the House of Commons into allowing her to impose protective duties against England! No paradox is too ridiculous for a Free Fooder, if it can win a cheer from the Radical benches or praise from the *Daily News*. But the Government of India has not yet sunk to the intellectual level of the Free Food fanatics; and the Dispatch brushes aside this sophistical rubbish with the contemptuous remark (Blue Book, p. 7) that it “is not, so far as we can judge, within the sphere of practical politics.”

It is amusing to note that Lord George Hamilton, the inventor of this twaddle, when speaking on Mr. Morley's fiscal amendment in the House of Commons on the very day after the publication of Lord Curzon's Dispatch, not only trotted out the twaddle again, but actually added that the newly-published Dispatch “confirmed the views he had expressed” Lord George had evidently not got as far as p. 7 in his study of the Blue Book.

The second point on which the Government of India

ventures to express a decided opinion is one of far greater importance than any of these foolish figments of the Free Fooders. It is in regard to the results to the British manufacturer to be expected from the adoption of Preferential Tariffs between the United Kingdom and India. In paragraph 12 they say that "it might be of appreciable advantage to the United Kingdom" generally; and with regard to no less than £10,000,000 sterling of the import trade of India, Lord Curzon and his shivering colleagues take their courage in both hands, and declare that, whatever Lord George Hamilton and the Free Fooders may say, "a substantial Preferential Tariff against the foreigner would be of material benefit to the British manufacturer."

Of course it would. No one with any knowledge of Indian trade, except a fool or a fanatic, could ever have doubted it. But it is important to notice that even this admission is ridiculously minimized by its restriction to only £10,000,000 of British imports into India—at least, if the obvious *tendencies* of the other imports be considered. For this restriction is justified by Simla on the ground that £23,000,000 of British imports (being the balance of a total import in India from Britain of £33,000,000) will be found to be a *quasi* monopoly, and therefore safe from the foreigner, and not to be benefited by preferential treatment. And it is simply astounding to find that Simla places in this category of monopoly our hardware and cutlery trade, though it is notorious that Belgium and Germany are gaining on us in India hand over hand; also iron, though the last returns show that the total import into India of British iron and steel goods has diminished since 1892-1893 from 52 per cent. to 32 per cent. of the total import, while Belgium has secured the practical monopoly of the Burma market; also woollens, though the last returns show that the Germans are gaining on us in this trade. Even as to Lancashire cotton goods—which, of course, are included in the Simla list of monopolies—that would not benefit from preference over the foreigner—a little more care for the

interests of Lancashire might have induced the Government of India to attach some importance to the very different view that is taken in India and in America. We will quote just one passage on this from *United India*, one of the most influential native reviews. This journal, speaking of American competition on January 28 last, says :

"She is now doing her utmost to invade foreign markets, the markets of India more especially. Where else is there such a large population, a population of 300,000,000, almost all using apparel made of cotton material, than in India? . . . The United States is a powerful rival to Great Britain in India. She is now making but slow progress, but she is more than a match for our ruling country, and soon India's supply of finished cotton goods will be to a considerable extent American."

And in the face of this, Lord Curzon and his colleagues tell the world, in Section 12 of this wise Dispatch, that the cotton trade, as well as all the others we have alluded to, is "practically secure from foreign competition even under present conditions." We wonder whether Lancashire takes the same rosy view?

The steady decay of British trade to the rapidly developing markets of Burma is absolutely notorious. Mr. David Norton, an admitted authority, says of it :

"Last year the exports of merchandise from the United Kingdom to Burma were valued at 353 lakhs of rupees, as against 361 lakhs in the preceding year and 403 lakhs in 1900-1901. While we were thus losing ground foreigners were gaining it. Burma's imports from Austria, Belgium, Holland, the United States, and Japan increased largely, so much so that Belgium has now a monopoly of Burma's markets for bar iron, and is also making headway rapidly in hardware. Again, Austria now supplies most of Burma's increasingly large demands for enamel ware, while Japan's silks and cotton piece goods are ousting those which used formerly to be supplied from England."

All this is matter of common knowledge and common observation in Rangoon. And much more of the same sort is told us from Bombay, Calcutta, and other Indian ports. It is only up in the clouds of Simla, or in the coteries inspired by Simla, that we hear of the Indian markets being "secured to British manufacturers for a long time to come, without any assistance from a discriminating tariff."

But now, on the other important points involved in this discussion : (a) The advantages and disadvantages to Indian trade and industry that might be expected from a system of Preferential Tariffs ; (b) the probability or possibility of the foreigner successfully retaliating on Indian trade ; (c) the advantages and disadvantages to Indian trade that might be expected from a fiscal system of retaliation, unaccompanied by any preference within the Empire, and therefore devoid of any political or Imperial advantage whatever—on each of these points the “views” of the Government of India seem to be sadly “mixed,” illogical, and incoherent. We will briefly consider (a), (b), and (c) in turn.

Taking point (a), could anything be more feeble than the following remarks on the advantages to be expected by Indian trade from a preference in the United Kingdom and the Colonies :

“On the other hand, the preferential advantage which we might hope to receive is neither large nor assured. If duties are not to be imposed on raw materials imported into the United Kingdom, India can receive no advantage in the home market for these. In the case of tea, India and Ceylon already divide between them more than nine-tenths of the trade of the United Kingdom. A reduction of the present duty of 6d. a pound might not improbably stimulate consumption, and would so far benefit this country, but for preferential treatment as such there is very little room. In the case of wheat there is ample room, but the supply from India, though increasing, is still uncertain. Any advantage that might be given would be shared not merely with Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, but also with growers in the United Kingdom itself ; and, moreover, it seems inevitable that any duty that may be imposed on this article, and therefore any preference to India, must be of relatively small amount. In the case of rice, India already supplies two-thirds of the demand in the home market. The only considerable articles of consumption that remain are coffee and tobacco. Of the former, our total exports to all countries amount to only about one-third of the foreign import into the United Kingdom, and a large proportion—exceeding £200,000 worth per annum—finds a profitable market in France, notwithstanding the relatively heavy duty levied in that country. Indian tobacco is at present very unfavourably treated in the United Kingdom, being subject to the same specific duty as the higher valued American article. If the two were placed on a footing of equality, and still more, if the Indian article were accorded preferential treatment, our trade should receive a considerable stimulus, although pipe tobacco, for which the

demand in England is so large, has not hitherto been manufactured successfully in this country. We may add that Indian indigo would benefit by discrimination against the artificial product."

This paragraph is obviously a hopeless muddle—a muddle apparently caused by the endeavour of the writer to force most refractory facts to fit themselves to the foregone conclusion with which he starts.

For just consider what he says about tea. A pound of Indian tea which has cost less than 8d. to produce is taxed 6d., making its total cost 1s. 2d. The war tax is 2d., which will probably be taken off all round; and under the Preferential Tariff scheme a further 2d. is taken off tea grown within the Empire, but not off China and other tea. Thus the cost of the Indian pound of tea would be reduced to 10d., and it would have a preference of 2d. over the China tea, which occupies about one-tenth of the whole British market. And yet all that the writer can say of this is that it "might not improbably stimulate consumption, and would so far benefit this country!" And he goes on to qualify even this feeble admission by adding: "But for preferential treatment as such there is very little room!" It strikes me that the Indian tea interest, both in India and at home, will take a very different view of the matter, even on the facts as stated in the Dispatch. It is, of course, quite true that Indian and Ceylon teas already supply nine-tenths of the *present* consumption in England, and perhaps also in the Colonies, and to that extent it may be said that there is "very little room" for preferential treatment as such. But, after all, the sale of one-ninth more than it already sells, even on the existing consumption and with present rates of profit, would be not such a bad thing for the Indian tea interest; and infinitely more important than this would be the enormous expansion of consumption, and that, too, in assured and progressive markets, that would certainly ensue when a sum equivalent to, say, 30 per cent. on the cost of production is taken off and

becomes divisible between tea producers in India and tea consumers in the rest of the British Empire.

In the above quotation from the Dispatch, the statement about Indian coffee seems to me to be absolutely incoherent: But Sir Edward Law's Minute puts the matter straight enough, not only about tea and coffee, but also about tobacco, indigo, and wheat.

"If the encouragement I have suggested were offered to the importation of Indian tea and tobacco, and if a tariff were introduced in the United Kingdom discriminating in favour of Indian coffee, important advantages would be secured to the producers of these articles. To a minor extent discrimination in favour of imports from India would be beneficial in the case of various other products, the more important of which are probably wheat and oil seeds. . . . It should be specially noted that if, in accordance with the general foreign system of tariffs, the United Kingdom were to impose a reasonable duty on synthetic indigo as a chemical compound, whilst admitting natural indigo free as raw material, the difficulties of our indigo-planters would disappear as if by magic. And this is perhaps not too much to expect, the competition between the two articles being so close that the manufacturer could not appreciably suffer by the exclusion of the one or the other. This is an important point which should not be lost sight of."

"Should not be lost sight of!"—a comparison of this view of Sir Edward Law's with the quotation from the Simla Dispatch, given above, shows that Simla persistently "loses sight" of, or else fumbles with, every consideration that promises better things for the Indian producer, especially when the promise affects the planting interests, whether of tea, coffee, or indigo.

But this general slackness—for it is absurd to suppose that the Government of India is intentionally hostile to the planters—is hardly less marked in relation to such purely indigenous products as wheat, barley, rice, sugar, and tobacco.

Take wheat. In the passage quoted above, Simla admits that there is "ample room for preferential treatment." But it offers the futile objection, so natural to the anti-Imperialists, that the advantages of preferential treatment would have to be shared with the wheat-growers of Britain,\* Canada, Australia, and New Zealand!—as if this compe-



tition were, at least in present circumstances, other than a mere flea-bite compared with the infinite advantage of being relieved from the competition with the United States alone, not to mention Russia and other possible sources of foreign supply ! But even this does not exhaust Simla's futilities ; it expresses the valuable opinion that a mere preference of 2s. a quarter (equivalent to an extra bonus of, say, 7 or 8 per cent. on the average) on Indian wheat is " of relatively small amount," and therefore not worth trying for !

And not one word has Simla to say for the great Imperial advantage obviously attaching to any great expansion of a food-crop grown under irrigation, and therefore not liable to destruction by drought, in India—that it affords the one and only automatic form of insurance against the horrors of Indian famines. For whilst the 2s. preference will be quite enough to provide a return in ordinary years on the extra outlay in works of irrigation, in famine years this crop, or some portion of it, would always be available for diversion to those districts which have suffered from drought.

The possibilities of the future of the Indian tobacco industry, under preferential treatment by England and the Colonies, are so stupendous that they almost arouse a little glimmer of enthusiasm, even in the Simla scribe. But even on this subject the two voices that speak in the Dispatch are laughably at variance, as shown in the quotation at p. 243. The one voice tells us that at present the higher-valued American tobacco is virtually protected against Indian tobacco by our existing British tariff, and that, consequently, any change would benefit India. But the other voice adds the objection or qualification that " pipe tobacco, for which the demand in England is so large, has not hitherto been manufactured successfully in this country." That is true ; but why is it so ? Obviously because the protection now given by England to the American tobacco has made such manufacture hopeless in India.

But we must not linger more over these preferential

futilities, which abound in every paragraph of the Simla Dispatch, for there is even a more hopeless muddle over the proposals for retaliation. The vagueness and unreality of these proposals, especially as to the possible duration and extent of any retaliatory measures, appear to have a certain charm for the writer or writers. When discussing the proposals for Imperial preferential trade, Simla affects great dread of the possibility of the foreigner successfully retaliating on India, though every one of the facts cited, and every one of the figures given, without a single exception, show conclusively that the possibility is practically non-existent, and that consequently the dread is a mere pretence. And so persistently is this pretence indulged in throughout the Dispatch that it is actually carried to the extent of simulating a fear lest—(1) Preferences should irritate the foreigner into retaliation; (2) this retaliation should cause a shrinkage of Indian export trade; and (3) this shrinkage should upset Indian exchanges, and bring about a general cataclysm. We shall endeavour briefly to show that this monstrous figment is grotesquely opposed to truth, alike in its premises and in its conclusions. But suppose for a moment it were true. What, then, becomes of the valiant sentiment with which the Dispatch concludes?—a sentiment which, though it seems a mere aspiration or hope rather than the declaration of a policy, is the only tangible outcome of the discussion:

“All that we seek is that we shall not be pledged in advance to accord equal treatment to the imports of all countries alike, irrespective of whether they penalize our exports or not. And we are hopeful that the mere announcement that our hands are free will of itself suffice to maintain us in the enjoyment of that considerable measure of free exchange which we already possess, and from time to time even to extend it.”

If this declaration is anything more practical than a mere pious opinion, it means that the Government of India repudiates the old Free Trade dogma that import duties may only be levied for revenue purposes, and that if any foreign country penalizes Indian exports, India will put an

import duty on that country's goods. But how, in the name of common-sense, does that fit in with the declaration in Section 17 of the Dispatch to which we have alluded? We will quote the very words of the section :

"In a financial aspect, the danger to India of reprisals by foreign nations, even if eventually successful, is so serious, and their results would be so disastrous, that we should not be justified in embarking on any new policy of the kind unless assured of benefits greater and more certain than any which, so far, have presented themselves to our mind."

The hazy idea in the mind of the Government of India seems to be this: "If we irritate the foreigner by our fiscal 'arrangements, he will have recourse to 'reprisals,' which 'will be bad for us. The risk of those reprisals is worth 'taking if it is taken in revenge for the foreigner 'penalizing 'our exports,' but it is not worth taking if it is taken merely 'for the purpose of consolidating the British Empire, of 'binding together England and India by ties of common 'material interests, of giving a vast impetus to the Indian 'trade of British manufacturers and to the British trade of 'Indian produce-growers."

If those are the views of Simla, we doubt very much whether they will command the assent of Calcutta or Bombay, of Madras or Rangoon or Karachi—or, indeed, of any community of practical men interested in the future of Indian commerce and industry. For all the facts and figures collected by Sir Edward Law prove beyond the possibility of doubt that there is absolutely no ground whatever for the foolish fears of foreign reprisals entertained by the Government of India. Sir Edward has examined, in the most elaborate detail, the export trade of India to foreign countries, and a study of his Minute and of the tables attached to it shows that, amazing as it may seem in face of the declaration of the Government of India just quoted, there is absolutely not one large important staple of export that is in the least likely to be injured by foreign reprisals, so far as the facts or probabilities are known; there is not even one in which the volume of export is

likely to be diminished by such reprisals; there is not a single foreign country that is really likely to think of such reprisals at all, and for most of them reprisals are simply impossible.

The Minute and its tables are in the hands of our readers, so we need only quote from it so much as will suffice to establish our contention—a contention that goes to the very root of the whole matter—and that, if established, removes at a blow every possible ground of objection to the entry of India into the Imperial British Commercial Federation.

We will follow Sir Edward Law by taking the foreign countries to which Indian exports go, in the order of their importance as to volume of trade.

The China trade, direct and indirect, is by far the largest in volume. That obviously, as Sir Edward notes, will not be affected. And this puts £11,000,000 of annual exports, out of the Indian total of £51,000,000, altogether beyond the danger dreaded by the Government of India.

Next come the exports to Germany, value £6,000,000. “Practically in each case their importations,” Sir Edward observes, “is a necessity for the success of some German industry in which large capital has been invested, and any check to which would prove a serious blow to Germanic economic prosperity.” And he concludes as to Germany: “We may rest fairly assured that she could not, in her own interests, tax our exports.”

Next comes France, taking annually over £5,000,000 worth of food and raw materials, including hard wheat for making semolina, and oil seeds for oil wherewith to adulterate Lucca oil and to make margarine. There is some lack of information here, Sir Edward tells us; but France already taxes Indian coffee to the tune of 100 per cent., and her other imports are raw materials. And he significantly adds: “No French Government could withstand the outcry in Marseilles if the oil and margarine industries were interfered with, and the threat of an export

duty in India on the raw material would probably compel the French Government to accord favourable terms for the importation of other Indian products, with regard to which our position may not be strong."

Much the same remarks apply to the United States, taking annually to the value of nearly £5,000,000, all raw material for the leather and other important manufactures, except gunnybags and other jute manufactured goods. As India holds the monopoly of raw jute, no country largely working up jute (as America does more and more every year) can afford to run the risk of India placing an export duty on it.

Next comes Japan, taking Indian commodities annually to the value of £3,520,000. "There is no reason," says Sir Edward Law, "why new arrangements with other countries should necessarily entail any change of business relations with the Japanese."

Next is Belgium, importing from India to the value of £2,850,000. "It is clear," says Sir Edward, "that India has little or nothing to fear from a tariff war with Belgium."

Then Austria-Hungary, taking to the value of about £1,600,000. Sir Edward sums up: "There is not, I think, the very least fear of Austria adopting a tariff prejudicial to reasonable Indian interests."

Italy takes from India to the value of a little over £2,000,000 annually. Sir Edward Law finds there is some lack of information as to the use made of these imports. But here, again, they are entirely raw materials, including oil seeds for adulterating Lucca oil; and though India may be in no very strong position to accept a tariff war, Sir Edward declares that "the Italians are not in a strong position to provoke it." They are most unlikely to injure their own manufactures out of mere spite, even if India were to adopt some mild imitation of their own fiscal arrangements.

The Russian import trade is inconsiderable; and Sir

Edward says : " Clearly, we have nothing to fear from a tariff war with Russia."

The Dutch import trade is also unimportant, consisting mainly of oil seeds for £290,000; and the Finance Minister says of it: " I do not think that in connection with the subject under consideration we need concern ourselves much about our trade with Holland."

Now we have gone through the whole list ! And where, oh where, is the slightest ground for the statement in Section 17 of the Dispatch as to " the danger to India of reprisals by foreign nations " if we attempt to consolidate the Empire by a system of Preferential Tariffs ? Which is the foreign nation from whom this danger can possibly arise ? We claim to have shown that the suggestion is simply a figment.

And even if one country were to put a retaliatory duty on some Indian raw material, what appreciable effect would that have on the general volume of Indian exports ? What probability is there of other countries being so foolish as to join in the unprofitable game ? Would they not take the opportunity to add to their own production of the particular manufacture concerned, and consequently increase their import of raw material from India ?

And then Simla takes no count whatever of the certain enormous expansion of the inter-Imperial trade. India and England are the complements of each other in their needs : India requires the products of highly-organized scientific industry, England requires raw materials to work up therein, and she also requires food. In precisely similar circumstances, within the eight years that followed the conclusion of the tariff war between Germany and Russia, German imports of Russian foodstuffs increased 210 per cent., while the imports of German manufactures into Russia increased 200 per cent. Would not this, and even more, come to the mutual trade of England and India under Preferential Tariffs ?

But Simla, intent on very different objects, is all for

commercial repose. Indian exports, being so entirely of the nature of food or raw materials, are, of course, received quite affably by the enterprising foreigner—for our fiscal policy enables him to get them on far better terms than our manufacturers can—and when they are worked up by German or American labour, the finished product has the enormous added advantage that (all initial profits having been secured in Germany or America in a protected market) an absolutely unlimited amount of surplus production, produced at the cost of an old song, can be sold in the vast markets of India and England! In these circumstances Simla's great idea is to keep the foreigner in this affable humour towards the Indian export trade, for, if we irritate him, Simla thinks that there is just an off-chance that he might take reprisals, even to his own detriment—and that would be a bother to Simla.

It must, however, in fairness be admitted that, throughout this Dispatch, the Government of India gives away the whole case of the Little Englanders against Preferential Tariffs, so far as the trade between England and India is concerned, which, after all, is a consideration of some importance to most of us. The Financial Minister, in Section 76 of his Minute, makes this definite pronouncement, which we humbly commend to the notice of the so-called "Free Trade" journals of Manchester, Bradford, Leeds, Sheffield, Oldham, and other manufacturing centres :

"Whilst the adoption of mutually Preferential Tariffs in both the United Kingdom and India would probably, as regards the trade between the two countries, be advantageous to both, the interests of the United Kingdom in the adoption of such a preferential system are very much greater than those of India."

We hold that, to the true Imperialist mind, this authoritative statement should go far to settle the whole question, so far as the participation of India in an Imperial scheme is concerned. We believe that of all living British statesmen Lord Curzon is not the one most likely to forget the fact—though it was before his own time—that India was

in a way the birthplace of the Imperial idea as we understand it now, more fully than ever since the Boer War, as moulded and guided by the genius successively of Beaconsfield, of Salisbury, of Balfour, and of Chamberlain. The Imperial Durbar at Delhi, and the proclamation of the Empress in 1877, were events closely followed by the sending of Indian troops to Malta in token of the place of India in our Imperial polity and of the solidarity of the Empire. For these things Beaconsfield was assailed by the anti-Imperialists just as fiercely as Salisbury was assailed by them for his determination that the Empire should not be disintegrated at its core by Home Rule ; just as fiercely as Balfour and Chamberlain were assailed by the pro-Boers for their determination that the Empire should not be maimed and crushed by the loss of South Africa ; just as fiercely as Chamberlain is now assailed by the self-same men and their allies for his determination that the Empire, when saved from the assaults of the Little Englanders and the Home Rulers and the pro-Boers, shall not drift into disintegration through fanatical or malicious neglect of the most obvious precautions of fiscal consolidation. Of all the measures to which the present Viceroy has set his hand in India—and they have been many and valuable—not one approaches, in vital interest and far-reaching importance, the great chance that now offers of bringing Indians and Englishmen into closer union as citizens of one Empire, not only with the same sentiments, but also with the same interests. The danger to Empire is probably greater in this than in the former conflicts, for it must be sorrowfully admitted that for this occasion the traditional enemies of the Empire have been reinforced, not only by all the economic ignorance of the country, but also by the bigotry of a small but very violent section of the opposite party. Lord Curzon is standing now at the parting of the ways. The Dispatch we have been reviewing shows clearly enough that though all the facts and all the arguments are on the side of the Imperialists, there



are those among the Viceroy's advisers who would do everything in their power to bend those facts and those arguments to the other side. And they have the enormous initial advantage that always belongs to the advocates of a *laissez faire, laissez aller* policy of "Let well alone." The *status quo* is, like possession, nine points of the law. And though this fact probably does not appeal to Lord Curzon as it would to a less energetic Viceroy, still, it must have great attractions—might we venture to say temptations?—to an energetic statesman who is eagerly desirous of having his hands free for other enterprises of his own seeking. But, happily, the Viceroy has shown himself to be a man of clear vision as well as of absolute independence. The possibilities of Imperial Commercial Federation, not only for the trade of India, but also for her place in the Empire and for her hearty attachment thereto, are at once so vast and so inspiring that we may well hope that Lord Curzon will ere long definitely place himself by the side of Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Balfour at the head of this movement.

## THE VITAL IMPORTANCE OF OUR FISCAL RELATIONS—CEYLON.

BY R. G. CORBET.

IT is practically agreed on all hands that our fiscal relations are a matter of the most vital importance to us. According to the followers of Cobden, the ruin of the country, or something not far short of it, would attend any departure from the policy hitherto pursued, while their adversaries maintain that a like effect is to be feared from adherence to that policy. If this be so, the perfectly open mind with which all investigation should be approached is particularly called for where the inquiry advocated by Mr. Chamberlain is concerned: there is so much at stake in this instance that we cannot afford to let foregone conclusions warp the judgment, or suffer any attempt at begging the question to pass unchallenged. Such attempts have abounded ever since the subject was first brought forward, so, as we have to be ceaselessly on our guard against them, it may be worth while to look back upon a few of those made hitherto.

The name Free Trade, as interpreted by its present partisans—it was originally understood in quite a different sense,—is itself a *petitio principii*; one, moreover, postulating what is obviously not true, since they apply it to a system of favoured imports and fettered exports, in which the freedom is anything but complete. The rest of their tactics is on a par with this sailing under false colours.

They have, from the beginning, always seemed unable to argue except from misstated premises. Mr. Chamberlain had scarcely mooted the fiscal question when they tried to confuse the issue, asserting that he wanted the country to disturb its trade by entertaining a mad scheme, whereas, as a matter of fact, he had merely asked that we should thoroughly review our position and act upon the knowledge thus obtained. As Mr. C. A. Pearson, chairman of the Tariff Reform League, said many months later, “nothing

could be more disastrous to trade than delay over details when the necessity for action has been generally recognised ;" and they appear to have mixed up this last stage with those that lead up to it. The effect Mr. Chamberlain's request produced upon them, by the way, is instructive. It was to be expected, if they felt assured of their creed passing in triumph through the ordeal, that they would welcome his suggestion with open arms, and eagerly submit all their data to the most searching analysis ; but, instead of this, speech after speech exhibited their wrath at the bare idea of any inquiry, as though they considered it a sacrilegious doubt thrown upon a revealed dogma. They strove to stifle discussion by appeals to a judgment delivered of yore, when the conditions were entirely different, and to get people to take upon trust the perennial soundness and applicability of the " principles "—in reality these are merely theories, some of which have turned out contrary to experience—whereon it was based. The very things that require to be proved, indeed, are constantly put forward by them as if they were axioms to be subscribed to without question, so much so that it is hardly possible to turn to any of the utterances of the modern Free Trader without finding one or more of the grounds upon which he takes his stand to be mere assumptions, that may be denied in the same way as they are advanced : *quod gratis asseritur, gratis et negatur*.

Take the stock argument that England's prosperity is inseparable from present methods. In the first place, writers of Cobden's school have themselves been called by Mr. Chamberlain as witnesses that this prosperity was well on its way when Free Trade was inaugurated, and was therefore not due to it originally. Besides, it is certainly not by adopting our fiscal system that the United States have been enabled to make their enormous progress, or Germany to compete so successfully with our manufactures ; and in the face of facts like these it becomes a moot point whether all the credit for our own development since

Cobden's time is to be given to Free Trade, especially when other factors, such as the advent of steam-power and the discovery of the goldfields, are taken into consideration. Finally, granting for the sake of argument that Free Trade once served our purpose to the extent claimed by its advocates, it by no means follows that it still does so, for circumstances may have changed so much as to render a new departure imperative. All these things must be weighed before accepting the statement endorsed by Sir William Harcourt—who, at the same time, gratuitously attributed all England's woes to Protection and all her weal to Free Trade,—that we are invited to return to the evils rampant before the repeal of the Corn Laws: a palpably absurd accusation, moreover, even supposing him not to have fathered these evils on the wrong cause, as the conditions then prevailing could not possibly be reproduced.

The future is used, or rather abused, in the same way as the past. Thus we have, among numberless instances, the confident predictions of the Free Food League, according to which a preferential tariff is impracticable, Mr. Chamberlain's policy would promote disintegration of the Empire, would endanger colonial patriotism, would injure our home trade, and so forth—prophecies which may be further eked out by the allegations, all crowded by one writer into a short article, that cost of living would "undoubtedly" go up if Mr. Chamberlain's ideas were carried out, that we should "assuredly" lose our foreign trade, that retaliation would seriously threaten commercial stability, that sudden collapses of big industries "would be the order of the day," that under Free Trade our manufacturers compete on equal terms with foreigners, and by a number of no less unsupported and sweeping assertions, in which no account is taken of circumstances that may warrant deductions diametrically opposite to those arrived at. It must be borne in mind that the problem, in each of its parts, is extremely complicated; all that is connected with it must

therefore be subjected to the closest scrutiny, from every possible point of view, before it can be used as a starting-point for any reliable conclusion. Mere accumulations of statistics, for example, cannot be accepted out of hand as evidence.\* A strict analysis of figures is indispensable, to prevent them from giving a wrong impression of the trend of events; for, in the absence of proof that things will always remain as they are, what is told of the past by statistics is not necessarily a trustworthy guide to the future. Their comparative value, too, must not be lost sight of: there are occasions when ratio may be a truer test than positive numbers.

Time is required for the full comprehension of such items, and of their bearing upon the admittedly momentous issue before us, and time, accordingly, must be allowed the country if it is to weigh the pros and cons satisfactorily and give its verdict aright. A hurried, incomplete investigation, followed by a premature decision, might be fatal. This is what the Opposition tried to force on when the matter was first ventilated, and what they appear to have hankered after ever since. Lord Rosebery manifested this desire as late as November 25, when, amongst a number of equally convincing positions, such as the real outcome of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals being State socialism, he averred that the postponement of a dissolution on the fiscal question was "impracticable and impossible." But why? If the present system is all that he represents it, what is there about its discussion so dreadful that it must be avoided at all hazards, by means of a precipitate appeal to the electorate? Ought not the excellencies of Free Trade to shine with increased splendour if brought well into the noonday light?

Needless to add that Lord Rosebery has put before us no adequate reason for haste; we have merely been

\* Cf. Mr. O. Eltzbacher's scathing strictures on the Blue-Book on British and Foreign Trade and Industry in the *Morning Post* of December 25, 26, and 28.

expected, as usual, to take its necessity for granted. This we must refuse to do, as we must refuse to concede all other unproved propositions.

## II.

The practice of requiring implicit acquiescence in controvertible premises extends to the oversea aspects of the question. Of our self-governing kinsmen across the water we have been persistently asked to believe, *inter alia*, that they look askant at Mr. Chamberlain's suggestions; and this, almost incredible as it may seem, in spite of the initiative of the Colonial Premiers at conference after conference, and of the preferential treatment given us, spontaneously and without equivalent on our part, by Canada, South Africa, and New Zealand. Where the rest of the Empire is concerned misleading affirmation has been varied by a judicious reticence, highly useful if it is desired to minimize, say, the effects upon the West Indies, Mauritius, etc., of the favour we have so long shown Continental bounty-fed sugars, or the leave we give all and sundry—fully taken advantage of by vessels of several nations which exclude our flag from their own seaboard—to compete in British waters with British shipping, unhampered by a Plimsoll line and the other restrictions imposed by us upon the latter. But here, also, actual paralogism leads the way. Thus, Lord Lansdowne, though evidently in good faith, gave the House of Lords (May 4, 1903) a totally incorrect idea of the situation when he defended the new Persian duties because they “were not very much larger than those we impose upon tea in this country”; for, even granting that the latter were not too high, it did not follow that a sum which was insignificant to an Englishman might not be prohibitive to the inhabitant of a poorer land, and might not, therefore, nip in the bud the introduction into it of British teas—as Mr. H. F. B. Lynch, in this REVIEW,\* has since shown it to have done very effectively at Moham-

\* October, 1903, p. 230.

mera. Thus, again, commenting on a letter in the *Times* from Mr. William Martin Leake, Secretary of the Ceylon Association in London, the *Manchester Guardian* tried to make out, from the increase in the proportion of Indian and Ceylon to Chinese teas sold in London, that British producers in general could safely be left without support in their struggle against the foreigner (September 25, 1903); a conclusion wider than the premises, and one the less warranted, besides, inasmuch as the victory of British teas is due in great measure to their being an entirely different article from that superseded by them.

At the same time, the Manchester paper, apparently on Dante's principle that *un bel tacer non fu mai scritto*, attempted no answer to another part of the letter, in which Mr. Leake spoke of the inconsistency of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach and Mr. Ritchie—the Free Food League was not then in the front rank—in retaining the tea duty while condemning all taxes on food. As a Ceylon planter put the matter, writing to the *Times* a month later, "There has never been Free Trade for us. Free Trade is for the benefit of the foreigner, not for loyal colonists." If Mr. Morley fears the Customs House officer, it is only in connection with the alien's privileges; the existence of a highly expensive Customs service and of severe Customs regulations, most obstructive to business in our ports, is nothing to him so long as we merely tax such articles as tea, the bulk of which is brought from the British producer to the British consumer in British vessels, with the necessary result that the duty upon it comes entirely out of the pockets of British subjects. Imposts like this are dear to the heart of Mr. Chamberlain's opponents.

The usual sophisms have, of course, been brought forward against the suggestion that the burden on tea should be lightened. It is only possible here to notice two of them, and a third with which they are intimately connected. The prophecy that the revenue would lose 75 per cent. of the duty now received is based on the supposition

that the lower prices due to diminished taxation would not cause a greater quantity of tea to be consumed, and this supposition, if producers are right, is false; they maintain the contrary, and are consistent in doing so, since they have always protested that the present *ad valorem* duty of 80 per cent. is a check upon consumption. Equally unsupported by evidence is the contention that British teas would suffer from the reduction of the tax, and that it would but serve to let inferior Chinese produce flood the market. The advocates of both kinds agree in declaring that the two teas are quite distinct in flavour, as in all else. Is it to be expected, then, that a palate accustomed to the one would straightway give it up for the other, and especially for the worst specimens available? What makes this still more unlikely is that previous change, as a rule, has been in the opposite direction: people in Russia and other countries, as well as at home, have gradually been weaned from Chinese to Indian and Ceylon teas, not from the latter to the former. But even if the universal development of a depraved taste were a probability to be guarded against, would there be no preventive save the maintenance of a tax which at one time was believed to threaten the very existence of our tea industry?

The abatement of the dues on the British article alone would prevent the dumping of "rubbishy" Chinese teas in London, and would simultaneously lessen any diminution there might be in the revenue; but here the third assumption, that all teas must be treated alike, comes to the assistance of the other two. The reasons given are contradictory. It is contended, on the one hand, that the quantity of Chinese tea consumed in this country is so small that a preference in favour of the British producer would do him no good; and, on the other, that Mr. Chamberlain is bound to reduce the tax on Chinese tea as well as on that from India and Ceylon, so that the working classes may have a sufficient supply. Now, in order not to produce more than the United Kingdom can take, our planters have had to



restrict their output in every way ; this, to say the least, affords a strong presumption of their ability, if called upon, alone to provide enough tea for the home market. Is it so very certain, then, that the working man would be deprived of his tea unless the door were opened for the leavings of the Chinese crop ? As for the theory that British teas have nothing to gain from preference, it fails to take into consideration, amongst other things, the contingency of their having an incomparably more dangerous rival to deal with than the Far East. It is easy enough for them to hold their own so long as they only have to beat such places as Foochow, where it has been impossible to obtain any improvement on the old system ; but it would be quite a different matter if the Cameroons were brought into the lists. Farewell in that case to the advantageous comparisons now so plentifully drawn with the dirty, antiquated methods of the Chinese ! The German, with his usual thoroughness, would be sure to adopt the most modern machinery, and put in practice the latest teachings of science. A preferential tariff might not be as superfluous against such an adversary, who would probably have the advantage of subsidized steamers and the like, as it is held to be against the Chinaman, especially since the fate of tea-planting in the Cameroons may depend in no small measure on the amount of encouragement to be expected from us.

The tax aimed by Russia against India and Ceylon has been another flowing source of vicious reasoning. Mr. G. Toulmin, M.P., who hugs himself for his persuasion that our teas have been penalized in retaliation for the Brussels Sugar Convention, entirely forgets that this retaliation has been confined to British products, while Russia has not raised a finger against the nations which, according to the current expression, would not "take it lying down"—facts tending to show nothing except that there is no other country against which she dares to employ such reprisals, and that she only does so in our case because she knows that we

will not strike back. The conclusion which he would fain draw, that the Sugar Convention has been hurtful to its signatories, remains unproved so long as the British alone suffer. But Mr. Toulmin is logic personified as compared with Mr. J. M. Maclean, whom the *Times* reports as saying that a duty on Russian petroleum oil "would be met through the imposition of penalties in the tea trade." Why, the Russian penalties on India and Ceylon teas have gone before, and the taxation of Russian oil in return cannot possibly, therefore, bring them into existence! It is easier to conceive its putting an end to them, as the *Birmingham Gazette* suggests: India takes £870,000 worth of petroleum from Russia yearly, and ought in consequence to be able to drive a good bargain, particularly if she were joined by Ceylon and backed by the Mother Country.

No argument dealing with retaliation by or against any of the British Dominions is conclusive when it ignores the part which they might play in the aggregate. Even Canada, strong as she is alone, would be far more so if she spoke through a Greater Britain—really forming one State, one fiscal whole, with a single coasting trade, and showing a uniform front in Customs matters to all without it, like the Russian Empire, the United States, etc. But if, for the present at least, the peculiar exigencies of Indian trade and the policy of the self-governing colonies so tie our hands as to offer insuperable obstacles to a Zollverein between all the lands that fly the Union Jack, is it equally impossible to compass a fiscal bond limited to the British Isles and the Crown colonies and dependencies? Our freedom of action not being trammelled in the same manner here, should we not be in a position, with the aid of this partial Customs Union, to grant or withhold favours in one quarter according to the treatment meted out to us in another; thus obtaining better terms than we now do as a number of distinct units, practically almost separate as far as our commercial relations are concerned?

Many such questions present themselves as corollaries to

that of our fiscal position, and some of them may involve consequences of the greatest moment. This is a further reason why we should resolutely set our faces against anything short of a thorough examination of the problem's every aspect, and exact full explanation of each "fact" brought forward; which, by the way, we might otherwise find, on closer acquaintance, not to be a fact at all, or to be one that does not justify the deductions made from it.

Referring specially to Ceylon, I may add that in 1903 (January 1 to December 31), besides 13,636,399 cocoanuts, Ceylon exported 153,735,364 lb. tea, 735,774 cwt. copra, 673,964 cwt. cocoanut-oil, 486,804 cwt. plumbago, 303,819 cwt. poonac, 284,055 cwt. fibre and coir products, 17,604,646 lb. desiccated cocoanuts, 62,700 cwt. cocoa, 5,395,910 lb. cinnamon, 41,798 cwt. rubber, 14,641 cwt. ornamental woods, 9,827 cwt. coffee, 1,097,702 lb. citronella-oil, 947,467 lb. cardamoms, and 170,565 lb. cinchona. Sir West Ridgeway anticipates that several million pounds of rubber will be shipped annually in a few years, and it is believed that the opening of the Northern Railway will lead to rubber, cotton, and cocoanuts being extensively planted along the line. It may be gathered from Sir West's review of his administration, published as he was leaving the island, and from the reports on the Ceylon Blue-Books, that a greatly increased trade in camphor, pepper, rhea, silk, and vanilla, is improbable. Tobacco might perhaps be turned by tariff reform into one of the colony's staple exports, as it is now one of its chief agricultural products. Not only is the leaf reported to be good already, but "there is every reason to suppose" that "an excellent quality" could be grown; and it is possible that preference might make it worth while to embark upon the radical change in curing requisite to meet extra-insular taste. Amongst other Ceylon products that might be affected by the proposed fiscal policy are

plumbago, also found in Germany, and citronella-oil, which the recent appearance in the market of a Java article, "not in reality so superior" to it, is helping to drive out of existence.

As regards tea, the Indian and Ceylon associations, in their memorial of February 2 to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, repeat that its consumption in the British Isles has diminished owing to the high duty. Far from endorsing the theory that reduced taxation would attract the worst foreign teas to London, moreover, they show that it is present conditions which are doing so. To the manifest detriment of British producers, China teas unfit for consumption, and refused admittance into the United States for this reason, are disposed of in England under cost price, in ever-increasing proportions, and blended with the higher British qualities in order to prevent the consumer from feeling the tax; his palate is being imperceptibly accustomed at the same time, it will be noticed, to stuff that would stand very little chance of ever making headway under any other circumstances. The associations express the belief that increased consumption would follow a reduced duty and the importation of uniformly good tea. Government should secure the latter, they suggest, by enacting standards of quality, and excluding everything that does not come up to them or has been rejected by other countries.

The writer of a communicated article in the *Ceylon Independent* (December 5) says that England, not Ceylon, would benefit under preferential arrangements. Mr. Arthur Chamberlain, on the contrary, maintains that the only return the colony could make for a preference on tea would be to discharge the 1,500 men at the Government factory, and "accept instead our machinery."

The *Morning Leader* (January 14), by the way, is filled with pious horror at the employment of natives in the works at wages proportionate to local conditions, a crime

with which it favourably contrasts the methods of our competitors abroad. True, the factory merely produces for purchasers on the spot, while the foreigner invades our markets ; but why trouble with such distinctions ? Is it not enough that, unlike the people on the Continent who are encouraged to provide us with sweated and prison-made goods, the natives of Ceylon are British subjects, and must therefore on no account be favoured ?

## THE LANGUAGES OF INDIA, AND THE CENSUS OF 1901.

BY G. A. GRIERSON.

ACCORDING to the Census of 1901, the enumerated population of British India amounted to 294,361,056 souls. Advantage was taken of the fact that the Linguistic Survey was at the time in progress to make the language census more widely extended and more complete than on previous occasions, and the result has been that, with the exception of about a million people whose languages were not returned or for some reason could not be traced, we are now able to state definitely that, beside the tongues of temporary sojourners, there are 147 distinct languages (not dialects) spoken in British India by, in round numbers, 293 millions of people. The exact figures are shown in the table on the following page.

For the purposes of the present article we may exclude from the above the Semitic and Hamitic families. These are vernacular only in Aden, a territory politically a part of our Eastern Empire, and should be omitted from consideration when dealing with what are usually looked upon as the languages of India. There remain 143 languages which fall under recognised groups, and two forms of speech which have hitherto defied classification. It is proposed to describe as briefly as possible the habitats and characteristics of these 145 languages.

Two languages of the Malay group are vernacular in British India. These are Selung and Nicobarese. The Selungs are a tribe of sea-gipsies who inhabit the islands of the Mergui Archipelago. The race is an ancient one, and its speech is connected with that of the Chams of Cambodia and with the dialects of the Philippines. Of greater importance is Nicobarese, which, however, is not

				Number of Languages.		Number of Speakers.	
				Of each Group.	Of each Family.	Of each Group.	Of each Family.
<b>Malayo-Polynesian family :</b>							
Malay group	...	...	2			7,831	
Total	...	...		2			7,831
<b>Indo-Chinese family :</b>							
Mōn-Khmēr sub-family	...	...	4			427,760	
Tibeto-Burman sub-family	...	...	79			9,560,454	
Siamese-Chinese sub-family	...	...	9			1,724,085	
Total	...	...		92			11,712,299
Mundā family	...	...	10	10		3,179,275	3,179,275
Dravidian family	...	...	14	14		56,514,524	56,514,524
<b>Indo-European family :</b>							
<b>Aryan sub-family :</b>							
Eranian branch	...	...	3			1,377,023	
Indo-Aryan branch	...	...	22			219,780,650	
Total	...	...		25			221,157,673
Semitic family	...	...	1	1		42,881	42,881
Hamitic family	...	...	1	1		5,530	5,530
<b>Unclassed languages :</b>							
Andamanese	...	...	1			1,882	
"Gipsy" languages	...	...	1			344,143	
Others	...	...				125	
Total	...	...		2			346,150
Grand total vernaculars of India				147			292,966,163
Add other languages...	...	...	...	...	...		346,670
Languages not returned or not identified	...	...	...	...	...		1,048,223
Total population of British India	...	...	...	...	...		294,361,056

pure Malay. It has for its foundation an old language, now extinct, of which we find traces in other parts of India. We shall devote a few lines to this ancient language when dealing with the Mōn-Khmēr tongues.

We now come to the four great families to which nearly all the languages of India belong—viz., the Indo-Chinese, the Mundā, the Dravidian, and the Indo-European. These four families, when mutually compared, display in a striking manner the various modes adopted by human speech to express ideas. The Indo-Chinese are monosyllabic and either isolating or agglutinating; the Mundā and the Dravidian are polysyllabic and agglutinating; the Indo-European are polysyllabic and inflecting. To commence

with Indo-Chinese. Here each word consists of one syllable, and refuses to be classed under any of our well-known categories of noun, verb, and particle. It expresses an indefinite idea, which may be employed to express any part of speech, according to its position in the sentence and its relation to its neighbours. Being monosyllables, the necessary paucity of different sounds is eked out by tones, each sound being raised or lowered in pitch, shortened or prolonged, according to the idea which it is intended to express. For instance, the Shan monosyllable *kau* means "I," "be old," "nine," "a lock of hair," "be indifferent to an evil spirit," "an owl," "a *butea*-tree," "complain of," "the shin," "the balsam plant," or "a mill," according to the tone with which it is pronounced. The number of tones differs in various languages. Shan has fifteen, while Western Tibetan is said to have only one. The most characteristic of these languages, Chinese and Siamese, belong to what is known as the isolating class—*i.e.*, every monosyllable has a distinct definite meaning of its own, and complex ideas are formed by compounding two or more together. For instance, "he went" would be indicated by three words, one meaning "he," another connoting the idea of "going," and a third connoting the idea of "completion." Others belong to what is known as the agglutinating class, in which certain words are now only used as suffixes to indicate relationship of time or space, and cannot be employed independently with a meaning of their own. It is as if the word "completion" in "he-going-completion" had lost its original meaning, and was now employed only as a sign to indicate that the idea connoted by some other word performing the function of a verb was also the idea of a completed action.

The original home of the Indo-Chinese race was North-Western China, between the upper courses of the Yang-tse-kiang and of the Ho-ang-ho. From here three successive waves of immigration forced their way into further India and Tibet. In each case the immigrants followed the



courses of the great arterial rivers which watered the country—the Sanpo, its continuation the Brahmaputra, the Chindwin, the Irrawaddy, the Salwin, and so forth. In each case, too, they drove their immediate predecessors to the highlands on each side of the rivers or to the sea-coast, and occupied the valleys themselves, to be, in their turn, ousted by their successors. The first immigrants were the Mōn-Khmērs, the second were the Tibeto-Burmans, and the third were the Tai branch of the Siamese-Chinese. Finally, a fourth, a second Tibeto-Burman invasion (that of the Kachins), was stopped by the English conquest of Upper Burma.

The circumstances of the invasion of the Mōn-Khmērs are lost in the mists of antiquity. Their language was distinct from the other Indo-Chinese ones, and seems to have had no connection with them. but, rather, to have belonged to some other unidentified linguistic family. When, therefore, we class it as Indo-Chinese, we do so on purely geographical and not on linguistic grounds. The Mōn-Khmērs overran Siam, Cambodia, and the north of the Malay Peninsula, as well as Burma and Assam, and everywhere they must have found the country inhabited by an earlier race speaking that extinct language already referred to, which was very widely spread, extending as far west as the centre of India proper, perhaps as far as Berar. Relics of this race are still found among the wild tribes of Malacca. It has been suggested, but not yet proved, that it is also represented at the present day by the great Kōl family of Central India. Arguments have even been advanced that members of this race spread as far as Australia. Without accepting all these propositions, it must be admitted that there is at the bottom of the Mundā languages spoken by the Kōls, of the languages of the Mōn-Khmērs, and of those of the Nicobarese and of the Malacca “Urang Utangs,” a common substratum which, in the case of, at least, the Mōn-Khmērs and the Nicobarese, while displaying clear traces of its existence, has been overlaid

by a language belonging to an entirely different family of speech.

The Mōn-Khmērs of Assam were driven to the hills by their successors the Tibeto-Burmans, and their language now only survives in that locality under the form of Khassi, the interesting tongue of the "Khasi and Jaintia Hills," which for many years, until its affiliation was definitely fixed by Kuhn, was looked upon as an isolated tongue forming a family by itself. In Burma the advancing tide of Tibeto-Burman invasion drove the Mōns to the sea-board, and their language is now heard in Pegu and the coast districts round the Gulf of Martaban. So far as British India is concerned, the only other Mōn-Khmēr languages are Pālaung and Wā, spoken by less than 75,000 people in the eastern hills of Upper Burma. Several other members of the family exist in Annam and Cambodia, though Anamese itself does not seem to be one.

When the Tibeto-Burmans left their original seat, they took at least three distinct routes: one swarm started north-west along the course of the Sanpo, whence it peopled Tibet and the Himalayas; another followed the Brahmaputra, whence it overran Assam; and a third wandered down the valleys of the Salwin and the Irrawaddy into Burma. In Burma and Tibet alone did they succeed in forming stable nationalities. As for Tibetan, it is spoken almost entirely outside British India. We are only brought into immediate contact with it on the Himalayan frontier, and with its extreme western dialects in Baltistan and Ladakh. In these last two localities the speeches are dialects, and nothing more; for Tibetan, owing to its possessing a literature, is a fairly uniform language. In Nepal there are a number of forms of speech, of which the most important is probably Nēwārī, "the language of Nēwār"—i.e., "of Nepal"—that are connected with it by origin. They represent a spill from Tibet over the watershed formed by the Northern Himalayas.

The Assam Tibeto-Burman languages have received considerable attention from local officials; but, as there are more than sixty of them, we know very little about a large proportion. In the hills along the north side of the Brahmaputra Valley there is a series of wild tribes—Akas, Daflas, Abors, Miris, and Mishmis—about whose tongues we are very imperfectly acquainted. Grammars have been compiled of two of these, but as for the others, the accounts given by the few people who have recorded observations are so contradictory that little certain is known about them.

In the lower Assam Valley itself we find the Bodos, who, though surrounded by speakers of Aryan languages, still keep their own tongue in fair preservation. Connected with it, and together forming the Bodo group, are a number of other languages, amongst which we may mention the Gārō of the Garo Hills, and Tipurā of the State of Hill Tipperah. The speakers of the Bodo group number in all about 600,000 souls.

In the upper part of the Assam Valley and in the Naga Hills there are twenty-six languages belonging to the Nāgā group. Destitute of literatures, and in many cases spoken by savage tribes whose principal occupation in former days seems to have been the collection of their neighbours' heads, there has been little intercommunication, and nearly every village has its own dialect. The most important language is Mikir (83,600 speakers), the headquarters of which are the Mikir Hills in Nowgong. It forms a link between the Bodo group and the true Nāgā languages. A similar set of transition languages is found in the north of the State of Manipur connecting Nāgā with Kuki. The present inhabitants of the Naga Hills, the Angāmis, the Āōs, the Semās, and so forth, seem to have entered their present seats from that State, and to have worked up northwards. The languages found in this tract—a mountainous counterpart of the Plain of Shinar—present many points of interest to the philologist, but are almost unknown except to a few frontier officers, whose business of keeping their

unruly subjects in order gives few opportunities for scientific study. Angāmi is fairly well known, and so are Āō and one or two others; but regarding the rest, even the Linguistic Survey, with all the special means which it had at its command, and with all the willing co-operation of local officials, has been able to collect but scanty materials. To an ordinary Assamese any Nāgā language is simply "Nāgā," and the Census of 1901 has failed to give separate figures for the speeches of this part of India. Out of 250,000 speakers of Nāgā languages 70,000 are shown as "un-classed," and twelve out of the twenty-six language-names find no place in the schedules.

South of the Nāgā languages, extending through the hill-country down to beyond Sandoway in Burma, we have the thirty-one languages of the Kuki-Chin group. Here our knowledge is in much the same condition as in the case of the Nāgā languages. Only fourteen names find a place in the Census schedules, and out of 625,000 speakers 236,000 have been shown as "Kuki-Chin unspecified." The group, however, contains some well-known forms of speech, such as Meithei, the principal language of Manipur; Lushēi, that of the Lushai Hills; and Lai, the main tongue of the centre of the Chin Hills. It may be remarked that, like "Nāgā," "Kuki" and "Chin" are both general terms, applied, according to locality, to all persons inhabiting the hills between Bengal and Burma.

The Nāgā and Kuki-Chin languages are typical examples of pure Tibeto-Burman forms of speech. Like many other languages in a similar stage of civilization, the most striking peculiarity is the want of power to express an abstract idea. The speakers are unable to conceive so simple an idea as "hand," "son," or "man," except in a definite, concrete form. A hand must be somebody's hand; a son must be somebody's son; a man must be a man of some tribe. They have different words for "my hand," "your hand," "his hand," but no word for "hand" generally. Similarly, they have different words for a man of this tribe or of that

tribe, but no word for "man" generally. Again, Lushēi has at least nine or ten words for different kinds of ants, but no word for "ant" generally. The conjugation of the verb is based on similar principles. The verb is never conceived in the abstract, but is always put into relation with some noun or pronoun as the subject. This is effected in exactly the same way as with ordinary nouns by prefixing the possessive pronouns, so that "I go" is expressed by "my going," and "thou wast" by "thy being-completion."

To the west of the Nāgā languages, in the North of Upper Burma, we meet the great Singpho or Kachin tribe, speaking a number of connected languages classed together as the Kachin group. Here, as in the case of Nāgā, almost every hill has a separate dialect.

Finally, we come to the most considerable set of Tibeto-Burman languages—the Burma group (7,500,000 speakers). Of these by far the most important is Burmese, which is the tongue of 7,475,000 people, and is spoken over all the plains portion of Burma south of Bhamo. It and Tibetan are the two literary languages of the Tibeto-Burman family. The speakers of both are Buddhists, while those of most of the other members of the family are barbarous pagans. Burmese has many dialects, but one of which, Arakanese, has as yet been honoured by the attention of students.

The Tai or Shām branch of the Siamese-Chinese race entered Upper Burma in force about the sixth century of our era. For many centuries they formed a powerful and stable monarchy, occupying what is now the Kachin and the Shan country. Thence, in one direction, one of their tribes—the Ahoms—conquered Assam, which they held until the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the other direction the Shāns overran Siam,\* a country which they still hold, driving their predecessors, the Mōn-Khmērs, to the sea-board provinces of Cambodia and Annam. In Burma they were finally conquered by the Burmese in the

\* The word is but a corruption of "Shām."

eighteenth century, and since then their principal representatives in British India have been the inhabitants of the Shan (*i.e.*, Shām) States. The Tais were a literary people, with a special genius for history. Several of their works in the old dead Ahom language have survived in Assam, and are waiting for the fortunate scholar who can find time and opportunities to edit and translate them.

Another language provisionally classed as a member of the Siamese-Chinese family is the Karen of South Burma. We do not know when the Karens entered the country. The generally-accepted theory regarding their language is that it is connected with Chinese, but not descended from it. Where much is doubtful, it is hardly necessary to state that some good people have identified the Karens with the lost Ten Tribes.

The above concludes our review of the Indo-Chinese languages of British India as revealed by the Census and by the Linguistic Survey. We now turn to the Mundā, or, as they are often called, the Kolarian languages. We have already alluded to the underlying connection which exists between this family and the Mōn-Khmēr, Nicobarese, and other forms of speech, and need not do more than refer to it again. The languages of the Mundā family belong to the agglutinating class. They rival Turkī in the complexity of their forms and in the thoroughness with which the principle of agglutination is carried out. Suffix is piled upon suffix, and then helped out by infix, till we get forms that are rather sentences than words. There is a root, *dal*, meaning "strike," and from this we can form, as an ordinary word of everyday use, *da-pa-l-ocho-akan-tahen-tae-tiñ-a-e*, which means, "He, who belongs to him who belongs to me, will continue letting himself be caused to strike mutually." We should employ this flower, or rather bouquet, of speech if my slave's son was too often getting himself entangled in affrays. Not only *might* we use it, but we should *have* to do so if we had the temerity to mention the fact.

The Mundā languages contain one main group, which we may call Khērswārī, and which includes all the most important, including Santālī (1,791,000) and Kōl (949,000). These are spoken in the hill-country of Western Bengal. South of this, through Orissa and further, there are some other less closely-connected members of the family, and there is yet one more, Kūrū, spoken far to the west in the Pachmarhi Hills and in the Betul District of the Central Provinces.

The main habitat of the Dravidian family is at the present day, and speaking roughly, India south of the Narbada Valley and east of the Bombay Presidency. In ancient times the Dravidians certainly extended further to the North-West, perhaps even into Baluchistan, where a tribe, the Brāhūī, which speaks a Dravidian language, still exists. In the North-West the remainder were conquered and absorbed by the Aryan invaders, on whom they have left an ethnic impress, and now, with the exception of Brāhūī, their languages are practically confined to the Deccan. These languages fall into two groups, the Dravidian languages proper and the Andhra languages. This was the division made centuries ago by Sanskrit writers, and it holds good to-day. Brāhūī falls out of this classification as an independent form of speech, and, on the other hand, the dialects of the Gōnds and other forest tribes of Central India are a connecting-link between the two. We thus obtain the following list of Dravidian languages, together with the figures of the 1901 Census :

				Number of Speakers.
A. Dravida group :				
Tamil	...	...	...	16,525,500
Malayālam	...	...	...	6,029,304
Kanarese	...	...	...	10,365,047
Kodagu	...	...	...	39,191
Tulu	...	...	...	535,210
Toda	...	...	...	805
Kota	...	...	...	1,300
Kurukh	...	...	...	591,886
Malhar	...	...	...	465
Malto	...	...	...	60,777

				Number of Speakers.
B. Intermediate languages :				
Gönd, etc.	...	...	...	1,123,974
C. Andhra group.				
Telugu	...	...	...	20,696,872
Kandh	...	...	...	494,099
Kōlami	...	...	...	1,505
D. Brāhūi	...	..	...	48,589
Total	...	...	...	56,514,524

The first three of these are well known, and so is Telugu. Limits of space will not allow me to do more than mention their names. Kodagu is the language of Coorg, and Tulu that of the neighbouring parts of South Canara. Toda and Kota are spoken by uncivilized tribes of the Nilgiris. Kurukh and Malto are two closely-connected languages which have worked north-west into Chota Nagpur, and even as far as Rajmahal on the Ganges. Kurukh is often called "Orāon." Malhar seems to be a variant of Kurukh, and is found in Orissa. Gönd requires no explanation. Kandh is the speech of the "Khonds" of Orissa, while Kōlami is employed by a tribe in Berar. The last-named is an intermediate form of speech, but is more closely connected with Telugu than is Gönd.

The Aryan languages of India fall into two main branches, the Eranian and the Indo-Aryan. The former belong to the so-called "Medic" or "Eastern" group of Eranian tongues descended from the language of the Avesta rather than from the old Persian of the Achæmenides. The most important are Balōch, with its dialect Makrānī, and Pashtō. The number of speakers of Balōch recorded at the Census was 152,188, but this only relates to the neighbourhood of Quetta. The rest of Baluchistan was left untouched by the Census operations. Pashtō, the language of Afghanistan, both British and independent, is returned as the tongue of 1,224,807 people in British India. The number of speakers beyond the British frontier is unknown, but has been estimated at about 2,360,000. In Waziristan, in the



heart of the Pashtō country, we find a small colony employing an isolated speech known as Ōrmurī, related to Pashtō, but in some respects agreeing with the Kāfir languages, and with the Eranian tongues of the Pamirs. The last are known as the Ghalchāh group. Only one of them, Yūdghā, has crossed the Hindu Kush, and is spoken in the Chitral country, to which, however, the Census did not extend. The others are Munjānī, Ishkāshamī, Wakhī, Shighnī, and Sariqōlī. A few visitors speaking Munjānī and Wakhī appear in the tables. Yūdghā is itself a dialect of Munjānī.

Most of the ancestors of the present Indo-Aryans entered India through the Kabul Valley. The invasion was a long process covering centuries, and the language spoken by the latest arrivals must have differed considerably from that spoken by the earliest ones. In course of time these immigrants populated the whole of the Panjāb, which thus became covered by an Aryan nation consisting of several tribes, speaking a number of dialects, some of which were so different from the others that those who used one called others who were at a distance "barbarians." With the development of the Aryan community, the dialect of the tribes which were settled on the banks of the river Saraswatī, in the Eastern Panjāb, developed into what is now known as Sanskrit. Owing to political reasons, this became the literary and religious language of the Indo-Aryans, while the dialects of the rest of the Panjāb, though no doubt influenced by the literary language, also developed on their own lines. In the meantime another swarm of Aryan invaders had entered India, not by the Kabul Valley, but over the Hindu Kush and down the Gilgit and Chitral Valleys. These entered the Panjāb and settled among their cousins, whom they found already there. Where they took up their actual abode is not known, but it is probable that they forced their way to the Saraswatī, and that it is their dialect which ultimately became Sanskrit. They left behind them, in the Gilgit and Chitral Valleys,

and in Kafiristan, members of their tribes who settled there, and whose language remained uninfluenced by the Sanskrit of the Eastern Panjāb. We thus find ourselves, towards the end of this epoch, in the presence of the following state of affairs: In the Eastern Panjāb there was a powerful Aryan tribe speaking a language which gradually took a literary form. To its west and south were other Aryan tribes speaking, not the same dialect, but cognate dialects which were subject to its influence. The southern members of the latter set of Indo-Aryans spread south and east, keeping south of the Jumna and the Ganges till we come to about the longitude of the modern Benares, where they crossed the Ganges and occupied the districts east of that degree, so that they covered the whole of the present Benares and Patna divisions. The settlers in the Eastern Panjāb also extended. They occupied the Gangetic Doab and, crossing the Ganges where it runs north and south, the country as far east as, say, the modern Oudh. Oudh itself became a sort of debatable ground between the two sets of Aryans. We thus see that the former set made a kind of semicircle round the latter, encompassing them on the west, south, and east. The latter, whom we may call the Inner Indo-Aryans, had to expand still more, and they did so. They overspread the Panjāb westwards as far as the Jhelum, and southwards they covered the modern Rajputana and Gujarat as far as the sea, thus breaking the continuity of the outer encircling band. They did not, however, drive out all the former Aryan inhabitants. They amalgamated with them, or, rather, absorbed those who had not fled still further south before them, and the language of these three tracts became a mixture of the two sets of dialects.

It is not pretended that events occurred in the exact order above suggested, but the circumstances must have been very similar to what has been described. The centre of the Hindu religion, based on Vedic and Sanskrit literature, was first the Saraswatī, near the modern Ambala,

and subsequently the Gangetic Doab. The political expansion of the great kingdom of Kanauj well illustrates the manner in which the language of the Inner Indo-Aryans spread and superseded that of their Outer cousins to the south and west.

The above account is also well illustrated by the present condition of the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars. There is an Inner group of languages, of which the purest and most typical example is Western Hindī, directly derived as a vernacular from that dialect from which classical Sanskrit was also sprung. There is also an Outer band, commencing in Kashmir and running down the Western Panjāb into Sindh. It is broken in Gujarat, but leaping over that province, it is continued across India eastwards under the form of Marāthī. Then it turns north again and covers Behar, Bengal, Orissa, and Assam. Between this Inner Western Hindī and this Outer band there is an intermediate band of mixed dialects occupying the Central Panjāb, Gujarat, Rajputana, and Oudh. In the first three localities, even in distant Gujarat, the Inner language has obtained the mastery, and we only see traces (varying in number and prominence according to the distance from the centre) of the original Outer languages. In Oudh, on the contrary, the two languages, the Inner and the Outer, are combined in fairly equal proportions.

At the same time it must be borne in mind that all these languages have been profoundly influenced by the literary sway of Sanskrit—a sway exercised with all the prestige of the Brāhmins. In the North-West, in Chitral and the neighbourhood, this influence was non-existent, and we thus arrive at our first great division of Indo-Aryan languages into those that are Non-Sanskritic and those that are Sanskritic. The latter fall into two main classes, the Inner language and the Outer band, while there are also two intermediate groups—one, a Western and Southern, which most nearly agrees with the Inner lan-

guage, and one an Eastern, which is a compound of both, and which I call the Mediate language. We thus arrive at the following classified list of Indo-Aryan languages :

#### A. NON-SANSKRITIC.

				Number of Speakers recorded in 1901.
1.	Shinā	...	...	54,192
2.	Khōwār	...	...	233
3 to 11.	Kāfir languages, and connected	...	...	—
				<hr/> 54,425

#### B. SANSKRITIC.

##### A. Outer Languages :

##### I. North-Western Group.

1.	Kāshmīri	...	...	1,007,957	
2.	Kōhistāni	...	...	36	
3.	Lahndā	...	...	3,337,917	
4.	Sindhi	...	...	3,006,395	
				<hr/>	7,352,305

##### II. Southern Group.

5.	Marāthi	...	...	...	18,237,899
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##### III. Eastern Group.

6.	Oriyā	...	...	9,687,429	
7.	Bihāri	...	...	34,579,844	
8.	Bengali	...	...	44,624,048	
9.	Assamese	...	...	1,350,846	
				<hr/>	90,242,167

##### B. Intermediate Languages :

##### I. Mediate Language.

10.	Eastern Hindī	...	...	...	22,136,358
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##### II. Connected with the Inner Language.

11.	Panjābi	...	...	17,070,961	
12.	Gujarātī	...	...	9,928,501	
13.	Rājasthāni	...	...	10,917,712	
14.	Western Pahāri	...	...	1,710,029	
15.	Central Pahāri	...	...	1,270,931	
16.	Eastern Pahāri	...	...	143,721	
				<hr/>	41,041,855

##### C. Inner Language :

17.	Western Hindī	...	...	...	40,714,925
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##### D. Add some people who returned themselves as speaking Sanskrit

...	...	716
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Total number of speakers of Indo-Aryan languages

219,780,650

Of the above, Marāthī and Eastern Hindī are groups of dialects, not of languages. The various Pahārī dialects are the many Indo-Aryan forms of speech found in the Himalayas, grouped, for convenience' sake, according to locality from west to east. We shall now deal with these languages in the order of the foregoing list.

The only Non-Sanskritic language which is fairly represented in the Census is Shīnā, the language of the country round Gilgit. Khōwār, the language of Chitral, appears as spoken by some visitors to Kashmir and elsewhere, no enumeration having been made in the Chitral country. The other Non-Sanskritic languages include those of Kafirstan, which lies outside British India, and Kalāshā Gawarbatī, and Pashai. Kalāshā and Gawarbatī are spoken in the Chitral country, and Pashai in Laghman of Afghanistan. These three are closely related to the Kāfir languages.

These Non-Sanskritic languages possess many points of interest. In the first place, the ancestors of their speakers must have descended from the Pamirs after some of the characteristics of Eranian (as distinct from Indo-Aryan) speech had developed in their language; for their tongues at the present day, though certainly in the main Indo-Aryan, show striking points of agreement with the Ghalchah languages to their immediate north. They once extended at least as far south as Kashmir, for, although the Kashmīrī language is a thoroughly Sanskritic one, there is nevertheless at its bottom a layer of Shīnā. Kashmīrī tradition itself admits that the valley was once inhabited by a tribe known as "Piśāchas," and research on independent lines has shown that the Non-Sanskritic languages were known to mediæval Sanskrit writers as "Paiśāchī." Furthermore, it is most probable that the Indian language spoken by our gipsies before they migrated to Persia on their way to Europe was this very "Paiśāchī."

Turning to the Sanskritic languages, these are nearly all well known, and very brief remarks must suffice. If lan-

guage is to be taken as the test, Kashmīrī is the tongue of immigrants from India who conquered and absorbed the old Shinā inhabitants, and this, as we have just seen, is borne out by local tradition. Kōhistānī is the language of the independent hill-country north of Hazara and Peshawar, in which no census was taken. The few speakers recorded were visitors elsewhere. Lahndā is the language of the Panjāb west of, say, the Lahore district. It is closely connected with Kashmīrī and Sindhī, and has very little to do with Panjābī. Most of the little that is common to the two belongs to Lahndā, not to Panjābī. Lahndā has passed under various names, such as Mūltānī, Jatkī, Hindkī, and so forth. The people of the Eastern Panjāb call it "Lahndēdī bōlī," or the language of the West, and this accounts for the adoption of "Lahndā" by the Linguistic Survey. The name is admittedly a bad one, but it is difficult to suggest a better. Lahndā has two dialects—one spoken north of the Salt Range, and the other to its south. It has numerous sub-dialects. Sindhī is too well known to call for any special remarks.

Marāthī is a language possessing a somewhat independent character. Although certainly belonging to the Outer band, it does not show any traces of a close connection with Sindhī or Lahndā. On the contrary, its nearest relative is the Mediate language—Eastern Hindī—and with this it shows a marked tendency to agree with the Outer languages of Eastern India—Bihārī, Oriyā, and so forth. It has only one important dialect, the Kōnkanī, spoken in the neighbourhood of Goa, and elsewhere it is very fairly uniform over the whole area which it occupies. It stretches more than two-thirds of the way across India. Immediately to its east lie Dravidian languages, and then, towards the north, Halbī, a mongrel dialect—a mixture of Marāthī and Eastern Hindī spoken by Dravidian tribes who have abandoned their own language. Beyond this lies Oriyā.

Oriyā, Bihārī, Bengali, and Assamese are all well known. Bihārī is spoken in Bihar, in Chhota Nagpur, and in the

east of the United Provinces up to about Benares. At the centre of its area is the great city of Patna, south of which lies the ancient province of Magadha, the birth-land of Buddhism. The old language of Magadha spread in three lines—east through Northern Bengal into Assam, south-east into Bengal proper, and south into Orissa, thus becoming the parent of the four languages of the eastern group.

Immediately to the west of Bihārī lies the great Mediate language, Eastern Hindī, its basis being a language of the Outer band, which has been strongly influenced by Inner forms of speech. It is the tongue of Oudh, of Baghelkhand, and of Chhattisgarh in the Central Provinces. In its earliest form it was the language of the Jain scriptures, and in later years, owing to its employment by one of India's greatest poets, Tulsī Dās, it has become the only language of Hindostan proper in which heroic poetry is composed. It has an enormous literature, some of which is of great value from every point of view, and its study is necessary to everyone who desires to be brought into communion with the genius of Northern India.

To the west of Eastern Hindī there is a long but comparatively narrow strip of country, extending from the lower ranges of the Himalaya to the Narbada, and from, say, Cawnpore on the east to, say, Jaipur on the west. This tract, which includes the Imperial city of Delhi, is the home of Western Hindī. It comprises the greater part of the ancient *Madhya-dēśa*, or "Middle Country," and is the Holy Land of Hinduism. It was in this country that Classical Sanskrit took its birth, and its vernacular at the present day is the direct descendant of that ancient Indian dialect of which Sanskrit represents a stage of arrested development. One of its dialects, that spoken immediately to the north of Delhi, became, through the influence of the Imperial Court, of the Imperial army, and of the Imperial revenue officials, the great *lingua franca* of India—Hindōstānī—understood and spoken as a second

language everywhere, but nowhere a vernacular except in the small area of the upper Gangetic Doab and its neighbourhood.

To the west of Western Hindī we come upon the second set of languages intermediate between the Inner language and the Outer band. To the north-west we have Panjābi, and to the south-west, first Rājasthānī, spoken in Rajputana, and then Gujarātī. Here the language in each case once belonged to the Outer band, but the expansion of the Inner language has overwhelmed it, and we must now group these composite speeches as near relations of Western Hindī. As we go further and further from the latter, we see the power of the central wave losing its force, and traces of the submerged original speech of the country becoming more and more evident.

The last-recognised Indo-Aryan languages with which we have to deal are the hill dialects spoken from Jammu, in the Panjāb, to Nepal. These require little more than naming. They are all sprung from Rājasthānī, and are the languages of people whose ancestors came from Rajputana in historic times. Pending further examination, they are all called "Pahārī," and are conventionally divided into three languages—a Western (north of the Panjāb), a Central (in Jaunsar, Garhwal, and Kumaon), and an Eastern (in Nepal). The Eastern is the language often loosely called Naipālī—a bad name, for it is not the chief language of Nepal. *That* is Nēwārī, the name of which is only another form of "Naipālī."

There remain to be considered a few unclassed Indian languages. The first of these, Andamanese, is the language of the wild tribes who inhabit the islands round Port Blair. There are numerous dialects or, possibly, languages. They are all agglutinative, making free use of prefix, infix, and suffix, and are adapted only to the expression of the simplest concrete ideas. Abstract ideas are almost beyond their power of connotation, and under all circumstances meaning is eked out by the free use of gesture.



Right across the Indian continent, in the extreme North-West, we find Burushaski or Khajuna, about which, thanks to the labours of the late Dr. Leitner and Colonel Biddulph, we have a good deal of information. What is *not* known is how it should be classed. The language is the despair of comparative philologists.

Finally, there are so-called "Gipsy" dialects. These have no connection with European Romany. All are mongrel secret languages. Some are mere thieves' slang, while in others an artificial element has been superadded with considerable ingenuity. They are spoken by wandering tribes in many parts of India, the members of which are too often professional criminals. Their study may repay the anthropologist, but will render little service to the student of philology.

## THE INDIAN UNIVERSITIES BILL OF 1903.

BY J. KENNEDY, I.C.S.

THE Universities Bill of 1903 marks an important stage in the history of higher education in India, and to some extent it reverses the policy which has hitherto prevailed. Hitherto the Indian Universities have been examining Boards, their senates have been large and unwieldy, and their standards low. The present Bill contemplates the establishment of a teaching University, reconstitutes the senates—giving them extensive powers of supervision over the affiliated colleges—and it contemplates the gradual conversion of these colleges into residential communities. For the type of the London University, we are presented with the ideals of Oxford and Cambridge. We ask ourselves, How has this revolution come about? what classes will it most affect? what will be the probable results?

Two distinct systems of higher education have existed in India side by side throughout the nineteenth century—the indigenous and the Governmental. The indigenous schools, whether Mohammedan or Hindu, have always had certain common features: they have always been shy of Government interference; they are mainly theological, and they are unprogressive; they are open to the poorest, their income coming partly from endowments, but more frequently from subscriptions and alms; above all, the teachers and their pupils live in the closest intercourse. Some of these schools have a large number of scholars, they bestow titles for diplomas, and the teachers are often men who have made a considerable pecuniary sacrifice for the love of learning and religion. Here, then, we have the Oriental ideal, in which learning is regarded as the free birthright of every man, and education means the intercourse of the disciple with his master.

In contrast with these indigenous schools are the

five Indian Universities, with their 191 colleges and 23,000 students. They follow totally different objects by totally different methods. The Universities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, modelled upon the pattern of the London University, exist solely for the purposes of examination, and although the Universities of Lahore and Allahabad, founded in 1882 and 1887 respectively, have more extensive powers, they have not availed themselves of them. The colleges affiliated to these Universities are of every kind. Some of them are Government institutions; others are aided by Government and open to Government inspection; others are under no kind of supervision. Few of them have been founded purely for the sake of pecuniary profit, but the competition for students is so keen that the unaided colleges are sometimes accused of underselling each other. The result is that the fees charged are unnecessarily low, and the income is inadequate for the maintenance of a proper staff of lecturers. The students are frequently masters of the situation, discipline is lax, and if one college displeases them they promptly migrate to another. Indeed, attendance at college lectures is quite unnecessary, for a University degree is open to anyone who can answer the examination papers and pay the fees. And to make the confusion more complete, there is no division of areas among the Universities, so that a college of the United Provinces may attach itself at pleasure to Calcutta or Lahore.

But the existing system is undoubtedly popular. It has two great advantages. In the first place, it is so cheap that a University career is open to the poorest. "The average fee realized at the twenty-one unaided colleges in Bengal was, in 1900-1901, Rs. 43.0.4, a sum which is about equal to the cost of education of a boy at an elementary Board school in England." And, secondly, a University degree of some kind is a necessary qualification for the two careers to which Indian youths aspire—Government service and the Bar. Formerly the higher grades of Government servants were largely recruited from a limited number of

families in which the methods of administration had become traditional, and officials of the older school are often sceptical as to whether mere intelligence and facility in passing examinations will prove an efficient substitute for inherited character. But the change has been made, and the Universities are the seminaries of the new candidates. Government appointments, however, are comparatively few, and the majority of students look forward to employment at the Bar. Since every Indian peasant has a grievance, and lawsuits have taken the place of private war, and the technicalities of procedure have created a demand for professional lawyers, the rush of students to the Bar is paralleled only by the crowd who resorted to the law schools of Bologna in the Middle Ages, or to the schools of legal rhetoric in the Roman Empire. And for all these students, a University degree is the passport which gives them access to this career.

On the other hand, this popularity is more than counter-balanced by grave disadvantages, political and educational. The very cheapness of the curriculum, and the great prizes to which it may lead, have tempted far more aspirants than can possibly find employment. Hence a mass of discontented graduates, who discover too late that they have wasted their youth in a career which leads to nothing, or, at least, to nothing answering to their expectations. But if the number of unemployed graduates is great, the number of those who fail to pass the examinations is immensely greater. In the Punjab and Bengal only one in two, and in Madras only one in five, of the candidates managed to pass even for matriculation in 1901. Discontented with the wisdom of their forefathers, ill instructed in the learning of the West, puffed up with a little knowledge, unassimilated though it be, and disappointed in their expectations, these failed F.A.'s and B.A.'s are at once the victims of our present methods and the despair of their friends. Politically, perhaps, they are insignificant, but they are a public nuisance.

The failure of the existing system is even more marked when we regard it from the educational standpoint. The Universities were founded in order to encourage the study of Western learning through the medium of English. A competent knowledge of spoken English is therefore an essential preliminary to all University education.

But it is found that a great number of those who enter the colleges are unable to follow a course of spoken English lectures; they have no acquaintance with the living language, and they are unable to cope with the double difficulty of an unknown subject and an unknown tongue. The result is that Indian students have to attend an inordinate number of lectures. It is said that a Scottish student attends some 700, and an Indian student 3,000, lectures during his University career. And this defective knowledge of English is accompanied by a still greater evil. The passing of examinations being the sole object of the student, and the lecturer being dependent on his success in passing pupils, the whole business of education has degenerated into a system of cram. The prescribed text-books are not the main objects of study, and no one dreams of going beyond them; keys, analyses, and notes of lectures, take their place, and are committed with little intelligence to memory. The training of a single faculty has taken the place of the training of the intellect.

These are the obvious defects of the present system, but they are not the chief. The training of the intellect is only a part of the work of education; its true vocation is the training of character at an age when character is most susceptible to personal influence. It has been a question ever since the days of Socrates whether the teacher or the book is the most powerful agent for this purpose. The Greeks and Orientals have always answered it in one way. A contrary opinion prevailed in England in the middle of the nineteenth century; the only true University was held to be the world of books, and in this belief the Indian Universities were founded. The swing of the pendulum

has now brought Englishmen to the opposite opinion, and with it the best Indian opinion coincides. The Moham-medan Anglo-Oriental College of Aligarh, founded by Sir Syad Ahmad in imitation of Trinity College, Cambridge, although not the sole, is, perhaps, the most striking example of the results of the residential system. This residential system—the close and intimate connection of the undergraduates with their professors—is in the opinion of many the best panacea for the present ills of University education. And it is the opinion of the Government of India.

But although this be the ideal, it is an ideal incapable of immediate achievement ; it requires a gradual transformation of the colleges. The Indian Universities Bill provides the machinery. Its purpose is to bring the Universities and the colleges into an organic unity, to enlarge the sphere of the Universities' influence, and to substitute a common life and common purpose for mere contact through the examination board. And it proposes to do so (1) by reconstituting the senates, and (2) by giving them very extensive powers of supervision over the colleges.

The existing senates of the older Universities are cumbersome and unwieldy ; they have over 200 (in Bombay over 300) members, and as the Fellowships have come to be regarded as an honour rather than a trust, the compliment has been conferred from very various grounds on many who have little knowledge of, or interest in, matters educational. The consequence is that the majority of Fellows do not attend unless an appointment is to be made, or there is some question for discussion which has excited public feeling. The Universities of Allahabad and Lahore do not suffer in this way, but they are encumbered with an undue representation of the official element. All the Universities have a minimum, but not a fixed maximum, of Fellows, and the Fellows, once appointed, hold their appointments for life.

The Bill provides that for the future the senates shall consist of ten ex-officio and 100 (or in the case of Allahabad and Lahore of 75) ordinary members. These

ordinary members hold office for five years only, and if they fail to attend the meetings of the senate for a year they forfeit their appointments. In Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay the graduates of a certain rank have the privilege of electing ten of the ordinary fellows, ten more are nominated by the faculties, the Chancellor nominates the rest. The provisions for Allahabad and Lahore are slightly different, and the privilege of electing Fellows has not as yet been extended to their graduates.

The executive power of the senate is vested in the syndicate. This syndicate is to consist of the Vice-Chancellor, the Director of Public Instruction, and a body of nine to fifteen Fellows elected by the senate, and holding office for two years. It is expressly provided that at least one-half of the syndicate must consist of the Heads or Professors of affiliated colleges. The decisions of the syndicate are submitted to the senate, and matters of importance require the confirmation of the local Government. Several sections of the Bill provide for the period of transition from the old senates to the new, and the privileges of the existing Fellows are now made honorary privileges only ; they will no longer have any voice in the work of the senate. Honorary Fellows will continue to be appointed in future without any limitation of their numbers.

The reconstitution of the senates would be of little avail if their powers were not greatly enlarged. In the first place, it is provided that all students shall, except in a few rare cases, pass through one of the affiliated colleges ; a collegiate training is to be a necessary part of a University career. And, next, the University is to exercise a very real supervision over its affiliated colleges. In order to obtain or retain the privilege of affiliation, the teaching staff of the college must be properly qualified, the fees suitable, the buildings commodious ; proper arrangements must be made for the residence of the students in a hostel, and, if possible, the college staff is to reside in the immediate neighbourhood ; in short, the residential system is to be introduced

if possible. The University will supervise the education and discipline, and to some extent the finance, of its subordinate colleges. Proposals for the affiliation of new colleges, and the disaffiliation of inefficient ones, must be sanctioned by the senate and confirmed by the local Government. The University is to have control over all the colleges in its territorial area ; there is to be no overlapping of different Universities. Other sections of the Bill provide for the establishment of colleges and lecture-ships in direct connection with the University, more especially for the purpose of post-graduate study ; and the Government has promised to grant the Universities five lakhs per annum for five years to enable them to carry out this portion of the scheme.

The obvious results of the Bill, when put into execution, will be to raise the standard of education and to diminish the number of students. The management of the Universities is to be controlled in the main by educational experts ; they will form at least half, if not the majority, of the members of the syndicate. The Government control remains unchanged, but the official element is diminished. A good deal must depend upon the representative character of the senate and the syndicate, and it is to be hoped that due provision may be made for the more struggling class of colleges. Since they will be the most affected, they ought to have ample opportunities for becoming acquainted with the dominant principles of the reform, and of pleading their cause in the senate as well as before the Government. Efficiency is very largely a question of money, and, as the first desideratum is to make the lower colleges more efficient, these colleges—must raise their fees, thereby diminishing the number of their students. But if the fees of the poorer colleges are raised, and the charges of the Government colleges remain fixed, the bulk of the students will naturally gravitate to the latter, and the aided and unaided colleges will suffer doubly. It is for many reasons undesirable that the Government colleges should have a



monopoly of the higher education, and it will be the business of the senate and of Government to deal carefully with the relations between the different competitors.

So far as the general public is concerned, the proposed changes ought to work for good. The present charges are so inadequate, and so much below the means of the classes who seek a University career, that no just objection can be taken to the raising of the fees.

The Universities have been founded neither from religious motives, like the indigenous schools, nor for the encouragement of pure learning; they have been established partly in the interests of Government, partly as a preparation for certain lucrative careers, and there is no reason why those who profit by them should not pay adequately for them. For meritorious poverty some special provision can be made by means of scholarships; and if these measures lead to a diminution in the number of students, that is scarcely to be regarded as an evil, in some provinces at least.

Perhaps a greater difficulty will arise in the gap which must intervene between the colleges and the majority of schools, if the college standard is to be greatly raised. Students are unable to profit by the college lectures because they have been inefficiently taught at school. The teaching of English in the schools must always be in the main the work of natives, and the native teachers themselves are too frequently inefficient; their knowledge of written, and much more of spoken, English is imperfect. Here, too, the natural tendency will be to divert the stream of scholars into Government schools, or at least to schools taught by a European headmaster. Such schools are to be found at comparatively few centres, and they are not sufficient to meet the demand for English education. English is fast becoming the *lingua franca* of the cultured classes, as well as an essential requisite in every department of business and administration. If the quality of the instruction is to be improved, it will be necessary to raise the position of

the teacher. The Universities must arrange for his special training, and the Government and the public must improve his prospects and his pay. The ordinary teacher is rarely contented with his lot ; he tries to make his position the stepping-stone to a Government appointment, or he resigns himself to a hopeless and discontented obscurity. He is himself too often one of the failures of the University system. And it may be securely predicted that the ideal of University education will never be attained as long as the position of the schoolmaster remains unreformed.

## MADRAS IRRIGATION AND INDIAN IRRIGATION POLICY.

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### I.

It is impossible to deal adequately in a single paper with the whole subject of Madras irrigation, its origin, development, and possible future extension. It is therefore necessary to select certain portions of the subject for special attention. The existing irrigation works will be described very briefly, in order that proposed works and the reasons which make their construction advisable or imperative may be discussed more fully. This is of special interest at the present time, when India is anxiously awaiting the decision of the Government on the recommendations of the Indian Irrigation Commission, which was appointed in 1901 to investigate the utility of irrigation as a protection against famine, the extent to which it has been provided, and the scope which exists for its further extension. This Commission, of which Sir Colin C. Scott-Moncrieff was President, visited all parts of India (including Native States) which are liable to famine, and presented a most valuable and complete report, which was published last year and will be frequently referred to in this paper.

“Excluding Native States, the area of the Madras Presidency is about 141,700 square miles, of which 29,600 are occupied by zemindari and proprietary estates, and the remainder, where occupied, is under *rayatwari* tenure. The cultivable area is estimated at  $36\frac{1}{2}$  million acres, of which  $30\frac{1}{4}$  millions are occupied, and  $24\frac{1}{2}$  millions annually cultivated. Including second crops, the average cultivation may be taken at about 26 million acres.

“Owing to the physical features of the country and its situation between the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal,

there is a considerable variety of climate. The rainy season lasts for about seven months—June to December—the first four months being known as the south-west and the last three as the north-east monsoon season. Notwithstanding this double season, the greater part of the country is very badly watered. The rainfall is not only badly distributed, but one or both monsoons may be weak. The north-east monsoon is proverbially uncertain. The four northern districts depend chiefly on the south-west monsoon, but unless it is a strong one it may carry but little moisture across the peninsula. Further south, where the Western Ghâts are higher, they cause the precipitation, during the south-west monsoon, of the greater part of the moisture on their western slopes, and in general the precipitation decreases from the hills eastwards. During the north-east monsoon there is less rainfall inland than on the coast, and not very much on the coast, except from the south of the Kistna Delta to the southern extremity of the Cauvery Delta. The central districts between the Western Ghâts and the east coast districts and the two southernmost districts fare badly in both monsoons." Except the west coast districts, the deltas of the Godaveri, Kistna, Penner, and Cauvery, and smaller areas elsewhere, especially on streams rising in the Western Ghâts, there is no part of the Presidency really secure from famine, and the most insecure parts of all are the tableland between the Western and Eastern Ghâts and the country lying along the foot of the Eastern Ghâts from the Kistna River southwards.

Irrigation was practised at a very early period, but one cannot say at what time rulers or people became sufficiently civilized to construct works of any importance. It is beyond the scope of this paper to trace the history of the old irrigation works. Suffice it to say that, with the few added since the British occupation of the country, these minor works number over 40,000 in the portion of the country under *rayatwari* settlement alone, and comprise weirs across all the smaller rivers and streams, with channels and tanks

in connection with them, and a vast multitude of tanks formed by dams across the valleys, and irrigating anything from a few acres up to several thousands. Except where, as on the west coast, artificial irrigation is not needed, a few other places where the rainfall was ordinarily found sufficient to mature crops, and in certain parts where the physical features of the country make irrigation works too costly to be remunerative, there is not now a stream where any of the ordinary flow can be intercepted without injury to vested interests. For a good many years past all irrigation projects have necessarily included reservoirs for the storage of flood-water. Many of the old works are admirably designed for their purpose, and skilfully and solidly built. Up to a certain point the Indian engineers were successful, but they never learned to build in the sandy beds of the great rivers. It was reserved for Sir Arthur Cotton to show how this could be done simply, quickly, inexpensively, with local labour and materials, and without any expensive pumping apparatus. The construction of the Upper Coleroon Anicut\* is the clearest proof of his genius. The general principles on which weirs in sandy rivers should be designed having been laid down and proved correct, it only remained to apply them with such modifications as local circumstances required.

The Lower Coleroon Anicut was built at nearly the same time as the Upper Anicut. After an interval came the Godaveri and Kistna Anicuts, and later the Sangam Anicut on the Penner, and a number of smaller works elsewhere. The principal reservoirs constructed during recent years are two on the Rushikulya for the protection of a large tract in Ganjam, the Kanigiri Reservoir, supplied from the Sangam Anicut on the Penner, and the Periyar Reservoir. Many of the old irrigation systems have also

\* Not to be confounded with the Grand Anicut (a corruption of *Kal anai* = stone dam), an old work which originally consisted of a mass of rough stone thrown across the channel between the Cauvery and Coleroon at the lower end of Seringham Island, in order to prevent the Cauvery water running into the Coleroon. It is merely a surplus escape.

been extended and improved. To show what progress has been made, it will be convenient to take the classification of works adopted by the Irrigation Commission.\* The works are divided into two principal classes. "The first includes all the more important works which have been constructed, restored, enlarged, or extended by the British Government within the last century. The second class includes all the smaller tanks and river channels which are scattered all over the Presidency, and many of which have existed from time immemorial." There are thirty works in the first class. On these the capital outlay was 808 lakhs, and the average area irrigated in the five years ending 1900-1901 was 3,293,000 (since increased to probably  $3\frac{1}{2}$  millions). This area includes old irrigation, chiefly in the Cauvery Delta. The new irrigation was estimated at 2,065,000 acres—not a bad record.

In the second class there are no less than 40,000 works, of which nearly 35,000 are in charge of Government departments, and maintained at the cost of Government. The area irrigated varies a good deal according to the season, but averaged during the three years ending 1900-1901 3,117,000 acres. The above figures include second crops. If the area of land only be considered, it may be said that there are 3,000,000 acres in the first class and 2,300,000 in the second.

In view of the impossibility of extending flow irrigation to any great extent, except in a few districts, the encouragement of well-irrigation is of very great importance. The following extracts from the Report of the Irrigation Commission (Part II., pp. 120, 121) show in a striking manner the results of the policy of the Madras Government of permanently exempting improvements from taxation, a policy not yet adopted in any other province except Bombay.

"Wells in Madras are divided into two classes: wells sunk in lands held on dry assessment, and those sunk in wet lands, or lands classed as wet,

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\* Report, Part II., pp. 93, 95.

under Government sources of irrigation. The former are termed *ayakat* wells, because the *ayakat*, or area attached to them, is dependent for its irrigation solely on the well-supply, and not upon any other source; the latter are called 'supplemental,' because their main function is to supplement the irrigation from Government works whenever the supply in them fails owing to deficient rainfall or other causes. Lands irrigated by *ayakat* wells are permanently exempted from additional assessment on account of such irrigation; but, in the case of supplemental wells, the lands benefited by them are liable to pay the full wet assessment fixed upon them, except in seasons when there is no supply whatever in the Government works, and the lands dependent on them are cultivated solely with the aid of well-water. On such occasions only the dry assessment is charged. . . .

"Excluding *kachha*, or temporary wells, which are few, the number of *ayakat* wells returned for 1900-1901 for *rayatwari* tracts alone amounted to about 470,000, and the area irrigated to nearly  $1\frac{1}{2}$  million acres, first and second crop. Compared with 1891-1892, there has been an increase of over 170,500, or 57 per cent., in the number of wells, and of about 469,000 acres, or 46 per cent., in the area irrigated. During the same period the number of supplemental wells has increased from 134,300 to 141,800, or by 9.5 per cent. . . .

"The great development which well-irrigation has attained in the Madras Presidency has unquestionably been largely assisted by the liberal policy which has been pursued during more than half a century in regard to the exemption of private improvements from additional taxation. The principle of leaving to the rayat the full benefit accruing from improvements effected by his own industry and means was first advocated by Sir Thomas Munro at a very early period of his career; but it was not until 1852 that his recommendations bore fruit in the determination not to assess wells so as to raise the assessment over what the general value and character of the land (apart from the well) would warrant. In that year orders were issued giving a distinct assurance 'that the rayats would be allowed the full benefit of their own improvements, that the lands thus improved would not be subject to any additional assessment so long as the general rates of the district remain unaltered, and that, on the occasion of any general revision of the district rates, the assessment of the lands so improved would be irrespective of the increased value conferred upon them by their holders.' With a view, however, to guard against possible fraud by the construction of wells in close proximity to existing Government works so as to draw away water from such sources by absorption and percolation, it was laid down that the exemption shall not extend to wells 'dug within 100 yards in rear of tank *bands*, rivers, channels, and beds of tanks,' nor to wells 'dug in land which can be watered by any existing public work of irrigation.' The first restriction was subsequently relaxed, as it was found impossible to determine the extent of the influence of percolation and absorption, so that rayats can now sink wells close to a tank, river, or channel without fear of enhancement of assessment, provided the wells are sunk in lands assessed as dry, and that water from existing Government sources is not

drawn into the wells by surface flow. The results of these liberal concessions have been most beneficial to the province generally, and in more than one district they have prevented scarcity from developing into famine."

During the ten years ending 1900-1901 the Madras Government advanced to the agriculturists 47 lakhs for the sinking of wells, but 91 per cent. of the wells were sunk without any assistance from Government. This, indicating as it does a strong spirit of self-help, is one of the most suggestive and encouraging facts brought to notice by the inquiry. It should be understood that by far the greater part of the area under the minor works and wells is only what may be described as semi-protected—that is to say, in a year of drought there may be a very deficient crop, or a crop not requiring much irrigation may have to be grown instead of rice under the tanks. It would not, perhaps, be far wrong to say that in the semi-protected areas it would require two years of drought to produce a famine, while one year of drought might produce it where there is no protection.

In addition to the area in the *rayatwari* tracts, there is in the 29,600 square miles of zemindari and proprietary estates a cultivated area estimated at 10 million acres, of which 2½ millions are irrigated, chiefly from tanks.

"Information on this part of the subject would be incomplete without a short explanation of the method of fixing the charge for water. When the British came into possession of the Madras Districts at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries the country was greatly impoverished by a century of war and misgovernment. The assessments were generally 50 per cent. of the gross out-turn, in some districts more, and in one as high as 80 per cent. There was no time to inquire into the revenue-paying capabilities of each district, and the old assessments were continued, but with some reduction, where they were very high. It was soon brought to notice that the assessments were excessive, but little was done until Sir Thomas



Munro became Governor, when he initiated a series of reforms which have led to the present system, applicable alike to dry and irrigated lands, of limiting the assessments to one-half the net produce. When a district has been surveyed and the soils classified, the out-turns of the standard crops in normal years are ascertained by inquiry and experiment ; the commutation rate is fixed by averaging the recorded market prices for a long series of years and making a deduction for merchants' profits and cost of putting on the market. The value of the grain out-turn to the *rayat* being thus ascertained, a deduction (generally 15 per cent. where the irrigation is fairly good) is made for vicissitudes of season and a deduction for cost of cultivation, calculated on the best data obtainable. Half the balance is the limit of assessment. In the case of irrigated land the sum credited to irrigation is the consolidated assessment less the assessment of dry land of similar quality. The rent at which irrigated land is leased out for cultivation generally indicates how far the assessment is within the limit allowed. The Government is not bound never to alter a classification once made, but, as a matter of fact, when once a district has been properly settled, the classification, to judge by recent examples, is not again disturbed, and in the new settlements the only change of assessment is that due to an alteration of the commutation rate. The same system is followed in assessing newly irrigated land."

## II.

"It has sometimes been made a reproach to the Government of India that more of the surplus drainage of the country is not used for irrigation. The chapter in the Report of the Irrigation Commission (Part I., chapter ii.) dealing with the limitations of irrigation explains the situation clearly. The main causes which have limited the use of the surplus drainage are thus classified :

"(1) The geographical and seasonal distribution of the rainfall ;

- “ (2) The physical configuration of the country ;
- “ (3) The difficulty of holding up water stored in years of good rainfall as a provision against a year of drought ;
- “ (4) The character of the soil ; and
- “ (5) The large number of different States and territories into which the country is divided and subdivided.”

“ Each of these conditions is discussed in detail. It is estimated that 6 per cent. of the rainfall of India is utilized for artificial irrigation of all kinds, and 35 per cent. is carried away by rivers.” While not attempting to say what is the possible limit of irrigation, the Commissioners have been able to include in their programme new works to irrigate  $6\frac{1}{2}$  million acres and utilize  $2\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. of the water which now runs to the sea. In Madras the local drainage is much more utilized than in other Provinces. In the river basins from the Penner southwards 70 per cent. of the surface flow is utilized, and there is very limited scope for impounding more water. The Godaveri practically cannot be utilized except in the Delta. The Kistna and its tributary the Tungabudra are the only rivers on which very great quantities of water can be stored, and even for that the consent of Hyderabad is required, as one-half the site of each reservoir would be in that State.

The Commissioners found that there is a very limited field for new productive works—that is, works likely to yield, ten years after completion, a net revenue equivalent to a return of not less than 5 per cent. on the direct and indirect capital outlay, and that there is no prospect of new irrigation works, on any considerable scale, proving directly remunerative in any of the Provinces in which protective irrigation is most urgently required. It is therefore most important to arrive at clear ideas respecting the indirect advantages of irrigation, and how far they may be set against the apparent loss to the State. It is obvious that there must be some limit placed to the burden which the State may be asked to bear permanently in favour of particular localities, and the decision of the Government on the proposals for extending

irrigation must be largely influenced by the view taken of the value of indirect returns. In their discussion\* of the protective value of irrigation the Commissioners enumerate three kinds of indirect advantages of irrigation, viz. :

“(a) The increase in the general wealth and prosperity of the community resulting from the increase of the produce of cultivation due to irrigation even in years of normal or more than normal rainfall.

“(b) The effect of irrigation and large water-storage works in increasing the humidity of the air and in raising the level of the underground water-supply.

“(c) The prevention or mitigation of the horrors and cost of famine.”

In regard to the second of these, it need only be noted that it is one of the things which go to make the maintenance of the Madras tanks a matter of life and death to the people.

In regard to the first, the Commissioners argue that, apart from the question of famine protection, the State cannot be called on to provide irrigation at more than cost price any more than it can be expected to provide manure, and that “the maximum permanent charge which the State may reasonably undertake in providing irrigation should theoretically be limited by the share of the increase in the produce due to irrigation, which it will be able to recover indirectly. . . .” The Report continues : “The best measure of the increase in the profits of cultivation due to irrigation appears to us to be the amount which the people are willing to pay for it—that is, the gross revenue of the works. . . . If, then, the gross revenue may be taken as a measure of the profits accruing to the cultivation from irrigation, a certain percentage of this revenue may again be taken as a measure of the indirect return to the State which results from these profits.” Assuming, for comparative purposes, that the State receives 25 per cent. of the gross revenue in

\* Report, Part I., ch. iv.

some indirect way, either from the cultivator himself or from those who share in his prosperity, it is shown how small the additional returns are in the case of works which pay but a small percentage on capital. The conclusion come to is that "if a work will not yield a return of 3 per cent., the indirect returns, in themselves, are not likely to be considerable enough to justify its construction," and that "where the direct return is likely to vary between 3 and 5 per cent., more weight may be given to the claim of indirect returns, and the work may probably be constructed without much risk of any real loss to the State." But in a subsequent part of the Report it is definitely recommended that "in all parts where cultivation is at all insecure protective works may be sanctioned without hesitation whenever . . . a net return of more than 3 per cent. on the capital outlay may be anticipated." The case for making 3 per cent. on capital, the minimum return to be required as a condition of sanction, is really stronger and more definite than stated by the Commission, but it is impossible to discuss it fully in this paper. Whatever opinion may be held regarding the duty of the Government in its double capacity as ruler and as the principal landowner, all will agree that relaxation of the rules which now fetter irrigation must proceed step by step and be largely restricted by financial considerations. The amount by which the direct revenue from irrigation is likely to be supplemented by indirect revenue will be of importance, even where protection from famine is the chief consideration, and it will therefore be useful to take Madras as an example, and see what the indirect revenue would amount to. In Madras the change from dry to wet cultivation is a change from low to comparatively high and often *intensive* cultivation, and agricultural prosperity causes a vigorous growth of arts, handicrafts, and trade. In any of the great deltas where cultivation has attained its full or nearly full development, it will be found that the population is two or more to each irrigated acre. Wet cultivation requires two or three times

as much labour as dry cultivation, and its extension can only go on *pari passu* with an increase of the population. Between 1866-67 and 1890-91 the irrigated area within the Godaveri delta increased 273,000 acres, and the population 409,000 ; for the same period the figures for the Kistna delta were 275,000 and 344,000 acres. It would be interesting to know how much of the increase in the general revenues was contributed by the deltas. For the two districts the increase in the forty or fifty years after the construction of the anicuts was about two-thirds of the increase in the land- and water-tax. Now, the same kind of change, though perhaps on a less pronounced scale, must happen wherever dry cultivation is exchanged for irrigation from a reliable source. A man cannot be expected to expend much labour in cultivation when he does not know whether he will reap a crop. Irrigate the land, and you have the change from a scattered, depressed, ignorant, famine-haunted population to a more numerous population, brighter, better educated, more active and enterprising, more alive in every way. Of course, the change may take a long time, especially if it requires much labour to prepare the lands for irrigation, but the change is certain to come in all places where the people eagerly desire to use the water, as they do in most parts of Madras. " If there is not much immigration this will only cause some delay. The people may be trusted to increase their numbers naturally when they have sufficient means of subsistence. It will be understood that the works referred to are those primarily intended to develop the capacity of the land, and not works primarily intended for protection against famine in places where there is no keen or constant demand for water. These come into another category. If it be asked what indirect revenue the State may expect to get from the improved condition of the people in addition to the irrigation revenue, it is not easy to say, but a rough calculation may be made. It may be assumed that the increase in produce due to irrigation of an acre of the upland country will not be less than it is in

the deltas, and that in the two cases the additional population for which a livelihood will be provided may be taken as the same; also that the contribution to the general taxes per head of population of an irrigated tract is not less than that of the whole population. In Madras the revenue per head of population from the general Imperial taxes is Rs. 1.4; and as the increase of population will be over 1 per irrigated acre, the indirect revenue may be taken at something over Rs.  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , which is one-half the net revenue per acre from the larger irrigation works. If a share of the net earnings of railways, and of the post-office, and of the increase in provincial and local taxes be added, it is probable that the indirect revenue would not be less than Rs. 2 per acre." As stated in the Commission's Report, every irrigation work is more or less protective, and minor projects scattered about wherever a secure water-supply can be provided are specially commended. It is difficult to say what area surrounding an irrigated tract can be taken as protected by it, as this will depend on the possible duration of drought and the extent to which the country is already protected by wells or small tanks. The number which it can feed, in proportion to its own population, can perhaps be approximately ascertained by a study of movements of trade during famines. Considering both the large indirect revenue and the protective effect of irrigation works where the supply is assured, it does not appear unreasonable to hope that 3 per cent. on capital will be fixed as the minimum net revenue which should be required as a condition of sanction.

There is no natural dividing line as regards their protective character between irrigation works in a country slightly liable to famine and works in a country specially liable to famine, but the Irrigation Commission had to make a distinction, as they did not consider Government obliged to provide irrigation at a loss except in what are called the famine tracts. "It is a task of acknowledged difficulty to make any sort of estimate of the unremunerative

expenditure which the State may legitimately incur in providing protection against famine, and the Commission were obliged to deal with the question in the following way. One of the Bombay districts which had suffered most severely from famine was taken as an example. The average annual direct cost of famine relief was capitalized at 4 per cent. An allowance being made for some increase of population due to better conditions, a certain irrigated area per head (0·4 acres in the case of Sholapur, but in the general case 0·3 to 0·5 acres) was assumed to be required to provide or supplement the food-supply in times of drought. Deducting the existing area under irrigation works and wells, the remainder was the required area of new irrigation which, divided into the capitalized annual famine expenditure, gave what was called '*the direct protective value of an irrigated acre.*' But there are also indirect losses of revenue from famine, such as loss from land going out of cultivation and losses of general revenue from excise, salt, etc., due to the impoverishment of the people. These, it was thought, may amount to as much as the direct cost of famine relief. There is, further, the amount which may be spent on humanitarian grounds. Altogether, the Commission considered that, in addition to the capitalized value of the direct revenue, three times the protective value of an irrigated acre would not involve an expenditure on the irrigation of an acre out of all proportion to the advantage to be gained by preventing famine instead of relieving it, provided that the water-supply is so secure that protection may be regarded as assured in the worst year of drought. The defect in the method of calculation adopted is that no relation is stated between the area and population of the irrigated tracts. The future population of the whole protected tract is assumed and used as a known quantity in calculating the required area of irrigation. In the Bombay Deccan the crops grown under the existing irrigation works are for the most part food grains, chiefly millet. In years of drought the area of high-class crops is curtailed, and

water diverted to the dry crops. In Madras, where the soil in the irrigated parts is nearly all more or less arenaceous, irrigation by flow is almost synonymous with rice cultivation, and when the dry crops fail there is not very much room for substituting food crops for other irrigated crops. Even the most favoured irrigated tracts cannot provide much food beyond whatever stocks may be in hand and such surplus as is ordinarily exported. The Commission estimated that in Sholapur the required area of irrigation is 16 per cent. of the whole cultivated area. In Madras a much higher percentage is required; in fact, 27 per cent. of the whole cultivated area (or a considerably larger percentage if the West Coast and the 'famine tracts' be omitted) is already irrigated, but much of it is insecure, and destructive famines, as in 1876-1877, are still possible in the districts most amply provided with tanks. The tanks afford a very real, if not always sufficient, protection; but, as a rule, this protection is confined to the area under them because they receive a short supply, or perhaps none, when drought is so severe as to destroy the dry crops.

"The Commission's forecast of expenditure on Government irrigation works is 1,510 lakhs for productive, 920 for intermediate, and 1,970 for unproductive works; total, 4,400 lakhs for the irrigation of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  million acres. It is expected that this will result in an annual loss of 73.72 lakhs, part of which will be offset by a reduction in famine relief, and that the net loss will not amount to more than 43 lakhs. The programme is not exhaustive, and is only intended to cover work during a limited period, probably twenty years. Many important improvements in the classification and financing of State irrigation works are proposed, but these are too complicated for discussion in this paper.

"The Commission consider the question of extending irrigation by private works of at least equal importance to that of extension from State works. Of the 44 million acres irrigated in British India,  $25\frac{1}{2}$  millions are irrigated from private works, and of this nearly  $12\frac{1}{4}$  millions are irrigated



from wells. To encourage the extension of this irrigation, they recommend a development of the present system of *takavi* advances for agricultural improvements ; grants-in-aid where the people have become impoverished by famine ; definite assurances of permanent or long-term exemption from enhancement of assessment on account of improvements ; and more extensive employment of relief labour on agricultural works, even those which will benefit private individuals who will pay nothing in return for them. Reference has already been made to the satisfactory results of *takavi* advances in Madras and to the exemption from taxation of improvements which the *rayats* there have enjoyed for the last half-century."

### III.

It will interest many to learn what is being done in Madras in the campaign against drought. The programme of the Irrigation Commission provides 100 lakhs for small reservoir projects, and 100 for extension of existing irrigation systems. A large number of these smaller works are under investigation. 1,340 lakhs are provided for the Cauvery, Tungabudra, and Kistna projects, which will now be described. I am indebted to the Madras Government for allowing me to use the reports, but must explain that none of the schemes, whether matured or provisional, have been submitted for sanction, and the proposals represent only the views of the engineers. There are really two alternative projects connected with the Cauvery. One of these is for storage on the Bhawani, a tributary of the Cauvery, and the other for storage on the main river. The latter only need be described, as it is pretty certain to be sanctioned, with whatever modifications the responsible advisers of the sanctioning authorities may recommend. The irrigation of the Cauvery Delta, though much improved by the construction of the Upper Anicut, has never been very satisfactory, and a portion of the crops frequently suffers from

insufficient irrigation in the intervals between freshes, and at the end of the season, when there is very little water in the river. Protection is required, but the flood-water which can be stored is much more than sufficient for this, and a large quantity can be used for extending irrigation. It is only half a century since the rational principles of the design of high dams were first worked out by French engineers, but the possibilities of forming reservoirs on large rivers were still very limited until Mr. Stoney invented the free-roller sluice-gate. With large sluice-gates working easily and smoothly under heavy pressures, it is possible now to pass the water of a large river through a dam, as is done at Assouan. At the site selected for the dam of the Cauvery Reservoir the valley is only three-quarters of a mile wide, with rocky hills on both sides. The depth of water in front of the dam will be about 126 feet above the general bed-level of the river. The length of crest will be 4,950 feet; area of reservoir, 33 square miles; and capacity, 40,000 millions of cubic feet, or 6 per cent. more than the Assouan Reservoir. It is proposed to pass surplus through seventy-two large sluices, fitted with Stoney's gates, in the body of the dam. Judging from the river sections, it would appear probable that there will be about twice as much masonry as in the Assouan Dam, and five times as much as in the Periyar Dam. Besides protecting 915,000 acres of old irrigation, it is proposed to irrigate 46,000 acres by channels from the dam and 216,000 in the Delta and the country south and west of it, and also give water for second crops on 160,000 acres.

The Tungabudra project is on a much grander scale. The investigation will still take years to complete, and the report made last year is merely a sketch, which, however, may be taken as giving a fairly correct idea of the general features of the scheme. The four Deccan districts—with an area of 27,600 square miles and population nearly 4 millions—and the greater part of the adjoining district of Nellore are more insecure than any other part of the

Presidency, and are afflicted with severe scarcity, if not famine, on an average once in every five years. The census of 1881 disclosed the enormous loss of life which occurred in the famine of 1876-1878. The population was found to have decreased 11 per cent. in Nellore to 26 per cent. in Kurnool. In two of the districts the population is still less than it was thirty years ago. Taking the four districts together, although the population increased 27 per cent. between 1881 and 1901, it was still in the latter year 8 per cent. below the population of 1871. Happily, the terrible state of things in the famines of thirty or forty years ago cannot occur again, as communications have since then been greatly improved, and there is excellent organization for dealing with famines. Immediately scarcity appears steps are taken to relieve it as far as necessary, and, if possible, prevent it deepening into famine. During the twenty-six years 1876 to 1901 the cost of relief and loss of revenue from failure of crops in the five districts which will be affected by the Tungabudra scheme exceeded six crores of rupees. The first proposals for the irrigation of any large area in these districts were made by Sir A. Cotton. The only portion of his scheme which has been executed is the Kurnool-Cuddapah Canal, but the other portions, as far as the general idea goes, are included in the present scheme. The idea of protecting at least a portion of the Bellary district was revived from time to time, but attempts to find any financially practicable scheme failed until the visit of the Irrigation Commission, when it was found that there was some chance of getting a large scheme accepted, and that the chief obstacle to the success of a small scheme—namely, the great cost of carrying a canal through the Daroji Hills—would be much reduced in importance if a more vast and daring scheme than any proposed before were adopted.

The Tungabudra, the largest tributary of the Kistna, rises in Mysore in the Western Ghâts. After leaving Mysore it forms for some distance the boundary between the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, and for the remainder

of its length is the boundary between the Native State of Hyderabad and the British districts of Bellary and Kurnool. Through the middle of Bellary from south to north runs the Hagari, a fairly wide river, but with a very poor and uncertain supply. Along the eastern boundary of the district is the watershed separating the basin of the Hagari from that of the Penner, which runs eastwards through the Anantapur, Cuddapah, and Nellore districts to the sea. It was found that if a very large and deep reservoir were formed at the best site for such a work, three miles above Hospet, a canal could be taken off at a sufficiently high level to admit of its being led across the basin of the Hagari and through the watershed into the Penner basin, where large areas could be irrigated in the poor districts of Anantapur and Cuddapah, and a portion of the supply could be passed on to Nellore, but the main supply to Nellore could, it was thought, best be provided by enlarging the Kurnool-Cuddapah Canal, or making a supplementary canal in the same part of the country to carry water from the Tungabudra to the Penner basin. The Kurnool Canal will be enlarged, if only to supply its own irrigation, which has been steadily extending of late years. Whether the additional water required can best be provided by another canal, or by the high-level canal from the reservoir, is an open question. Setting this aside as a detail, the general features of the main scheme may be described. As provisionally designed, the reservoir will hold up water to about 130 feet above the river bed at site of dam; its area will be 130 square miles, and capacity 157,000 millions of cubic feet, or four and a quarter times that of the Assouan Reservoir. A canal capable of carrying 6,000 cubic feet per second will be taken off about 40 feet below the full level of the reservoir. The first twenty-two miles will be in very difficult rocky country along the foot of the hills, and at the end of this section the hills will be pierced by a tunnel two miles long. Beyond this there is no special difficulty. The line reaches the Hagari at about ninety-four miles from the reservoir, and

thence to the Penner watershed is no very great distance. One or two subsidiary reservoirs will be formed on the Penner, partly for the purpose of raising the water-level to give more command, and partly to store flood-water. The gross areas commanded will be 2,800 square miles in Bellary and Kurnool, 900 in Anantapur and Cuddapah, and 2,300 in Nellore ; in all, 6,000 square miles. Of course, the irrigable area is much less, much land being required for village sites, threshing-floors, ponds, roads, channels, banks, etc. Under very favourable conditions it may be possible to irrigate two-thirds of the commanded area, but in somewhat broken upland country one-half is perhaps as much as can be expected, and this is nearly what is taken in the rough estimates. It is thought that, besides merely insuring  $\frac{3}{4}$  million acres of dry crops,  $\frac{3}{4}$  million acres of dry crops will be regularly irrigated, and  $\frac{1}{2}$  million "wet" crops. Much of the land will also be cultivated with two crops. As water will be supplied in all parts of the area commanded, famine there will be made impossible. There is no reason to doubt that as an engineering work the scheme is quite practicable, and it is fairly certain that it will involve no permanent burden to the country if the saving in famine relief and the increase in the general revenue due to the increase in numbers and prosperity of the people be taken into account. If the recommendations of the Irrigation Commission as to the limit of expenditure on famine protective works be even in part accepted, it may confidently be expected that this grand scheme will be sanctioned, or, if the Government should take a net revenue of 3 per cent. on capital as the required return, it may probably be classed at once as a productive work. The rough estimate of cost is 6 millions sterling, the interest on which would be paid by a much smaller area than it is hoped to irrigate. When fully developed, the irrigated tract will be able to provide food for all the people and cattle in an area of fully 20,000 square miles during the worst possible famine.

The Tungabudra project is a magnificent scheme, but it

is rivalled by the Kistna Reservoir project. Even a few years ago the ideas of engineers seldom went beyond such works as the Assouan Reservoir, and the first proposals for a reservoir on the Kistna contemplated a work of about that size. The chief objection to this was the enormous quantity of silt which would be impounded, as the reservoir was intended for high-level irrigation, and the sluices in the dam could not be kept open, as at Assouan, until the end of the flood season. Mr. Reid, to whom belongs the honour of initiating the project and conducting the investigation as far as it has gone, brought his views before the Irrigation Commission, who recommended that the scheme should be investigated as soon as possible. The scheme has since then grown enormously, and now includes a dam, at a place called Kottapalli Revu, about ninety miles above the head of the Delta, capable of holding up water to a height of 174 feet above the river bed, and impounding 125,000 millions of cubic feet. It is proposed to take off a large canal at 134 feet above the river bed to irrigate 5,000 square miles of "famine tract" in the west of the Kistna district and the north of Nellore. It is expected that  $1\frac{1}{2}$  million acres can be irrigated in this tract, and that the supply to the Delta from December onwards can be so improved that an extension of 200,000 acres will be possible, and, moreover, 200,000 acres of second crop can be raised, and navigation maintained until the end of April. The dam, if carried out as provisionally designed, will be a gigantic work. The length on crest will be 10,000 feet, and the contents 40 millions of cubic feet, which is just about twice the amount of masonry in the Assouan Dam. The flood discharge of the Kistna is about one and a half times that of the Nile. To pass the enormous quantity of 700,000 cubic feet per second, it is proposed to have fifty sluices near the base of the high dam in the river, and eighty over a rocky shoulder in one of the flanks. To obviate any danger in the very improbable event of the sluices not working, there will be

an escape 5,000 feet long. The silt difficulty has been greatly reduced by the enlargement of the reservoir and the arrangement of the sluices. Will the scheme pay? Mr. Reid thinks that it will, and yield a handsome profit; but until the estimates are properly made out, it will be better to follow the Irrigation Commission, and regard it as "intermediate"—that is to say, doubtful. Interest charges make an enormous difference in the financial prospects of works of this kind, which take a long time to construct, and can earn nothing until they are nearly completed. If part of the famine grant could be capitalized, as tentatively suggested by the Commission, and used as a kind of banking account to which interest and earnings could be debited and credited until they balanced, the financing of these big works would be much easier. Both this and the Tungabudra project will be much affected by the policy which may be adopted by the Government. The relief of famine, without taking measures at the same time to increase the resources of the places subject to famine, seems certain to end in disaster, as the number requiring relief will only be the greater in each succeeding famine.

When compared with these big projects, the smaller ones must be uninteresting, and only two of them will be briefly mentioned. The Divi Island lies between two mouths of the Kistna, and has an area of about 100,000 acres. It is proposed to irrigate half of this by pumping from the Kistna from the commencement of the flood season in June until the supply becomes so low that the water becomes brackish, which generally occurs about the end of November. The work will be important as being the first example in India of irrigation on a large scale by pumping, and if successful will probably lead to similar works being undertaken elsewhere.

The second project is the extension of the Periyar irrigation, which has been an incalculable blessing to Madura, and in the first three years of its existence twice staved off local scarcity, if not famine. The project is now

paying more than the interest on its capital. Irrigation has gone as far as the water-supply allows, and there is urgent demand for more water. In ordinary years a third of the water entering the lake passes waste over the weir, and in order to save some of this it is proposed to raise the lake level 8 feet, lower the escape and fit sluice-gates on it, enlarge the capacity of the tunnel, and build an additional large reservoir in the plains to be filled from the lake.

Although not strictly within the subject of this paper, it may be allowable to call attention to the backwardness of India in using water-power. All who have the interests of the country at heart must lament its great dependence on a single and, to a large extent, precarious industry. When all has been done that public and private enterprise can do by means of irrigation to protect this industry from vicissitudes, and improve the condition of those engaged in it, the country will still be very poor, and the people in many parts of it deficient in resources to carry them through bad times, unless manufacturing industries can be greatly developed. One of the chief difficulties connected with this is the want of cheap power. The Government might to some extent help to overcome this difficulty by allowing the use of water for water-power on easy terms. There is an immense quantity of water constantly flowing from the hill ranges. It may be that most of the places where power could be generated are too remote or unhealthy, but there are many both in the hills and on the plains where power could be developed with great benefit to the country. Although the Mysore Government was not quite the first in the field in showing how profitable the use of water-power might be, it was the first to show that it could be with great profit transmitted to a long distance. The cost of the Cauvery Power Scheme by which the Kolar Gold Mines, ninety-two miles away, are supplied with power and light, was only £336,000, or £80 per horse-power delivered at the mines. At the end of ten years the Mysore Government will have received a net income of



£547,000, and the mining companies will have saved £600,000. Madras furnishes an instructive example of the direct use of water-power in a cotton-mill of about 300 horse-power, worked by water from the head of the Tambrapuri Falls. There must be very many places where the construction of small reservoirs on hill streams would supply a large amount of power, while at the same time such works would be valuable in improving and regulating the supply for irrigation. The uses to which water-power can be put will, of course, depend on each locality and the natural facilities for special manufactures. Where the power cannot profitably be transmitted to a distance, the choice of uses is, of course, very limited ; but there are some manufactures for which materials are very easily obtained in India, and which could be carried on almost anywhere.

It is sincerely hoped that all who have any influence in this country will take an interest in the irrigation question, and do all in their power to support a policy which has for its aim the extension of the benefits of irrigation and the prevention or mitigation of the misery and long-lasting effects of famine.

## THE CYRUS VASE INSCRIPTION AND BEHISTÜN.

BY PROFESSOR LAWRENCE MILLS, D.D.

THE Cyrus vase inscription, first deciphered by Rawlinson, beyond all shadow of a doubt provides us with an effective and decisive parallel to the statements in the Biblical edicts of Cyrus, Darius, and their successors, which are now forced once more upon our critical attention in a comprehensive view of Zoroastrianism.

The detailed passages of Holy Writ are absolutely justified as proving to us that the Jews of the Return—I mean, of course, their leaders chiefly—had exact ideas as to the animus of Cyrus, his customs, and his power. The picture which they draw is no miniature nor an over-coloured caricature, but an extended canvas, in harmony with the real conditions of affairs—an image to the life. The Cyrus of Chronicles, Ezra, and Isaiah is the selfsame man whose long since recorded words have been so wonderfully preserved to us upon those few inches of material which we now most justly hold to be exceptionally precious.

But the vase inscription, though it is the issue of the great Aryan Ruler, is in Assyrian; and in our discussion as regards the influence of the Avesta and of its lost related lore the very shape of the words possesses importance. Moreover (strange as it may seem to be to say it), the vase inscription lacks certain elements of confirmation.

Here, however, I must bring in an element which at the first glance might appear to some readers to be quite of the minor class, and hardly telling at all upon this present side in the debate—that is to say, not upon the effectiveness of the Iranian inscriptions as an element in the argument. And in some other stages of the investigation these details which I am now about to present become indeed once more subordinate.

Let this, what I am about to say, be regarded as being rather a meditation offered in parenthesis. For it is the physical substance, or rather the lack of substance, through the cutting out of story matter, which I desire to recall here for a moment into view, as also the geographical considerations which adhere to our Iranian monuments.

### THE ARYAN ACHÆMENIAN INSCRIPTIONS: THEIR SCENIC AND TOPOGRAPHICAL CHARACTERISTICS.

We have often read the so-called edicts in the Chronicles and Ezra (to linger for a moment once more here upon these particulars), with their striking terms as put chiefly into the mouth of Cyrus, but also into those of his successors. We have seen, too, from the vase writing (so far as that extends as a witness), how those records were possible to have been published by the chronicler and by Ezra at the times stated, for this could not have been made certain except through some contemporaneous authority. But the manuscripts of ancient literature—even those of Holy

Scripture—inestimably precious as they are, have yet their limits, and so have the steles and cylinders, for their claims are largely or wholly moral to most of us so far as they extend.

Those claims are very acute indeed, and impress us with a sense of certainty, and also stir a mental thrill within us when we consider the frail thread of mechanical life on which they hang. But when we turn to the Aryan inscriptions we are met with something otherwise not comparable as testimony, appealing likewise to the æsthetic element within it.

#### THE ARYAN ACHÆMENIAN INSCRIPTIONS HAVE ESPECIAL ELEMENTS OF AUTHORITY.

The clay Vase Inscription, which possesses such strong and almost irresistible intellectual claims upon us, though endowed with a sort of piquant charm to us from the very fact of its so delicate material, and from the precarious existence through which it has persisted during so long a period before it came into our possession, yet lacks some elements which our Iranian ones possess. It not only misses that impressive element which their physical dimensions and scenic positions give the Aryan Achæmenian inscriptions, but to a certain minute degree a percentage of uncertainty inheres within the considerations which render it so valuable to us. Not at all because it has been for so long time hidden. This latter circumstance only enhances its value, as it seems to me, in the acme of our interested search.

#### MANUSCRIPTS AND CLAY INSCRIPTIONS ARE CONCEIVABLY FAILIBLE.

But if a ruler of Babylonian Persia could write down such statements as we have in *Chronicles* and upon the Cyrus vase at the time and place thereby of necessity indicated as the dates and homes of those so memorable writings, then, of course, any other person whosoever could have done the same and at any later date—that is to say, any person at all conversant with the more important transactions of the day, and possessing sufficient social status as to have been able both to read and write, and to secure the mechanical execution of the objects. The descriptions and traditions of the great supposed events must have flooded everything everywhere, and for a long time after their supposed occurrence, and with the closest of details, and also (let us confess it) sometimes with the amplest of exaggerations. Every “story-teller of Israel” and of Persian Babylon, whosoever he might be, could, even centuries after their asserted date, repeat these grand though simple annals; and if he repeated them at all, he would most probably be more than pleased to place in a fresher light the great imperial deeds of his country’s former so eminent Ally, with the usual inevitable result.

The very minor pupils of the schools, Assyrian or Jewish, in many a later period must also have often heard some intended echoes of the supposed events, and that as household words, if indeed there were such occurrences at all within the scope of public knowledge, and all this quite simply and as a thing of course.

But do we actually know from the Cyrus vase and from the Scripture edicts that the entire mass of the professed contemporaneous account of these so deeply interesting and so signally important affairs is not really and in its bulk as original a complete imposture, and altogether of a later date? For what have we at all as evidence approaching to an eyesight upon objects to certify to us with ultimate effect that those records were really so old, original, and actual, as they are now thought without reserve by most of us to be? Where could the lot of them, the supposed authors of these writings, let us ask—the annalists, the reciters, the commentators, and the engravers—have got the incipient forms of their ideas as to these alleged colossal deeds at all, and at the dates and places which we have so freely claimed for them? I ask this question as referring to the entire classes living at the times in view—the monarchs, the nobles, the priests, and the prophets. How do we actually know that such a state of knowledge was at all at hand with them as we have supposed to have existed in accepting the Vase Inscription, the edicts, and the other literature of the time, and that which refers historically to it?

We believe indeed, and fervently enough—nay, we are critically convinced—that the vase is genuine as being contemporaneous with Cyrus, and that it was engraved at his command, and that its Assyrian has been practically made out, and our scientific certainty is all the more refined because it is concerned with what is the reverse of gross; but is it so completely justified as not to be conceivably erroneous? (Let us also not forget that all the supposed related facts which meet us in our Bibles, and which are very dear to many of us, are themselves, and most of all, at stake.)

#### THE CONCEIVABLE FALLIBILITY OF THE EDICTS.

How, then, can we be so positively sure that Cyrus had expressed himself in the very singular manner narrated by the writers in *Chronicles* and in *Ezra*, and by the writers who prepared the statements which were engraved upon the vase and upon its many replicas, if the vase inscription lacks any elements of certainty?

Many scholars, whether closely critical or not, may have been, and, as I believe, many were, immovably sceptical as to most of the Scriptural details with regard to the Return and its imperial subvention, doubting the whole account of it from its beginnings on.

The Biblical edicts are indeed of themselves alone of a certain weight, and this whatsoever may have been their actual date when they were first recognised as documents in our oldest surviving Hebrew manuscripts. But they need sorely to be themselves confirmed, and this also (although with greatly less persistence) we may say of the Vase Inscription.

As to the rejoinder, "that the firmest conclusions of even the most advanced of specialists must be always somewhat subtle to the common mind in their chain of reasoning from premise to conclusion," I will do nothing whatever but acquiesce. But the following facts remain:

These Bible passages, aside from our previous lifelong intellectual con-

victions or pietistic confidence, might, as I would say, be one and all of them later inserted into the places where they occur in the Hebrew records. For there is literally nothing ancient upon paper, vellum, or papyrus which is absolutely entire as measured by what it originally was. Interpolation, hiatus, detrition, have marred completeness everywhere. How, then, are we so absolutely sure that these people—the Kings, the Prophets, and the Scribes—could have known those things at all and at Cyrus's time, or that these events in fact transpired? The Cyrus Vase Inscription, almost inestimably precious as it is, is more of a document than an absolutely certain monument, and this most positively.

That it is fragile of course enhances its acute interest in our eyes, and greatly so, as I have already said, but nothing dimensional confirms it. It might even conceivably have been falsified intentionally—forged, in fact, from its beginning to its close, finding its way also later in the course of time into some Babylonian Noble's library, where it has been (at last, after so long a sleep) discovered, like the shoals of other counterfeits.

#### BUT WHO CAN DOUBT THE AUTHENTICITY OF BEHISTŪN?

Could a Persian Emperor, even if he had the wish to do so, have set a mass of architects, builders, and sculptors to work to master that formidable ascent, wholly or partly reaching to 300 feet above the plain, and to hew out a series of falsifications concerning common public facts of notorious import upon a well-known mountainside (not that every individual item there chiselled was really intended to be executed as absolutely true)?

The point which I am endeavouring to drive home upon the convictions of my readers is the unassailable fact of the authorship of the inscriptions of Behistūn at the particular time and place of those magnificent details, and so also the full possibility that the others, like them, in their contents—that is to say, those in the Biblical edicts and upon the Vase—can likewise be regarded as absolutely genuine and contemporaneous with the events which they are supposed, and which they profess, so fully to describe.

Here are the very texts themselves engraved upon the open front of a conspicuous eminence in forms which must have taken months or even a few years in those slow days to cut out mechanically after arranging the surfaces for their reception, while the to them so deeply-interesting process must have been watched by many a group from Darius's government from the beginning to the completion, as well as by the passers-by.

So also of their well-mated sister records of Naksh-i-Rustam, Van, Alvand (while those of Persepolis and others within domiciles would be somewhat less obvious to the public gaze). It really seems to me to be the fact—and I do not at all see how we can gainsay it—that we have here in these inscriptions some of the very excessively few original, and therefore positively certified, relics of the intellectual life of man—that is to say, so far as regards these earlier dates and the advanced character of their contents.

THE LIFE OF MANUSCRIPTS AND OF CLAY INSCRIPTIONS.

The existing evidence of the life of books is indeed impressive to us when we take a moment to consider it, and this just in proportion as the links in their identity from the earlier generations to the later ones may seem to us to be so slight. A little scrap of fibrous matter, brittle and exposed to destruction from a score of causes, seems, indeed, to us to be almost trivial as the eye falls down upon it; but yet it has been an absolutely indispensable section in the long-continued lifetime of immortal thoughts. Just as a single human being is a continuation of a precarious line, often at times with scarce a hope of its survival from the remote ancestor to the just born descendant, so, first from memorizer to memorizer and then later from copy to copy or from replica to replica (in the case of vases, steles, and cylinders), the endangered existence has persisted through generations of the world's calamities. It is the frail life of human ideas which has been dependent upon a chip of clay, a shred of paper, or a scroll of vellum, and the very feebleness of this flicker of the mental breath makes what it is and what it announces to us all the more endeared, and likewise, as we might safely say of it, all the more sublime. A slender thread of human beauty, it has stretched on to us in its precarious continuity, unbroken in the very midst of arson, frauds, ignorance, and, above all, in the face of vandalism. It, indeed, affords us one striking proof the more of that so solemn circumstance—namely, "that the laws of life are really as inexorable amongst us as the laws of death."

This has sublimity indeed, and I would be the last to point one sentence to lessen it or mar its charm. *But there is another sublimity.* Amidst these now so indefinitely repeated masses of man's recorded efforts to carry on the knowledge of the world with which our presses have been groaning since the first use of types, no solitary specimen of an original handwriting back of a certain date has been preserved to us as absolutely fixed in its claims to be accredited as regards its time and place of origin.

THE OLDEST BOOKS HAVE LATER MANUSCRIPTS.

The oldest manuscript even of the venerable Veda itself is, strange as one might well consider the circumstance to be, comparatively new; the mere vibration of a note is an echo from the once mighty volume of early Vedic song.

But here at Behistūn we stand in imagination beside our travellers and look upon an immovable elevation bearing beyond all question the very characters which were cut upon its surface more than 2,400 years ago. It is the great manuscript of manuscripts (if we might permit ourselves for a moment so to speak of it). We see the very cavities carved out by the chisels which were driven by the hands of men who were alive when the distinguished Ruler himself doubtless stood (and more than once) upon the timbers of the temporary structures and watched the skilful touches of the hewers as they so deftly fitted in the shapes. Surely this, too, has sublimity; and it holds us silent, as much so as the little piece of pottery with its truly formidable record (formidable in the immensity of its historical import).

Here we have, beyond all doubt, existing products of "the pen of iron" from human hands that were original at the work—results stamped upon a lofty rock from the very body of the earth, at once a record and a portion of the great empire which arose, culminated, and perished in its then allotted periods.

#### DESOLATION AND PERMANENCE.

The broken columns of the Palace upon the esplanade which spreads beside a valuable group of the sister writings at Persepolis are witnesses, indeed, to what is transitory. They tell us many a grand, if likewise also many a terrific, tale of a once elaborated splendour and of its annihilation; but here is a living element like the soul of a departed body still speaking to us yet and from the selfsame tablets as clearly as when the plains around them swarmed with the troops of the great Organizer, and the stately walls of the original edifices stood in the bloom of their artistic decoration. Strange witnesses, indeed, these are, as we may remark in passing, and from a very special reason, of the transitory state of human prominence, uttering as they do their magnificent asseverations of universal sovereignty (see the momentous passages repeated more than twice), each at the time of its execution expressing a mighty truth—namely, that the very habitable Globe, that is to say, the to them then known part of it, had been delivered by Almighty God to the Author of these writings to be ruled by him; while the last pillars that still remain erect do but point out to us more vividly the fate of that same regal authority which has now for ever, but not untimely, passed away. While manuscripts and replicas are good, indeed, as hearsay evidence, these letters upon the walls of Persepolis and upon the living rock of Behistūn (Van, Alvand, Naksh-i-Rustam) seem to me to be like the hands of the ancient dead, which we may grasp to-day as if they were present, and feel the very pulses beat within them as when they traced the still-speaking thoughts which we have here before us.

#### TERRESTRIAL SITES AS ELEMENTS IN EVIDENCE.

Terrestrial sites and scenic bearings, as well as the relatively great dimensions of these impressive objects, here assume an intellectual dignity beyond that which they originally possessed, for they make the texts which express the records of departed men *forever sure to us*.

Manuscripts may vary through fraud or accident, and chasms of wholesale destruction may occur, but here are texts which a score of centuries could not have changed. All the vases of all the excavations might conceivably have been later written than at the time to which we would assign them; but here are characters cut imperishably upon a fixed substance from which they cannot move, and so high up upon its surface that they cannot be hid nor reached to ruin. Surely they and their sisters are alone in this their so exceptional authority—the solitary, still articulate voices (so they seem to me to be) from that otherwise now irrecoverable day.\* They

\* Not that we must forget the throngs of still extant fixed inscriptions upon other themes. Yet even with these in view, we may still ask, "What is there comparable to Behistūn and its Persian mates?"

have been mutilated slightly and in parts, and a little streamlet in the season's rains has obliterated here and there a syllable, or, indeed, entire words ; but these are, fortunately, for the most part easily to be restored from other places where the selfsame sentences recur.

Behistūn is imperial, if not imperious, among human records, and we may congratulate ourselves that adequate efforts are to be made to secure complete reproductions of its momentous sentences before the encroachments of the streamlets have done more to mar their beauty or to impair still further that marvellous completeness which centuries of weather have not as yet been able materially to harm.



## THE THATHANABAING, HEAD OF THE BUDDHIST MONKS OF BURMA.

BY D. H. R. TWOMEY, I.C.S.

ON November 13, 1903, a unique ceremony was performed at Mandalay, the last capital and stronghold of the Alômpra dynasty, and still the chief town of Upper Burma. On that day at an open Durbar held near the group of Kyaungs and pagodas to the north of King Mindôn's walled city, the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, Sir Hugh Barnes, formally acknowledged the newly-elected That-hanabaing, or General of the Buddhist Order of Mendicants in Upper Burma, and conferred on him a Sanad, or charter, setting out the conditions on which the acknowledgment rests.

The Order of Mendicants, or, as it is also called, the Order of the Yellow Robe, owes its importance chiefly to the absence of any regular Buddhist priesthood. The Burmese type of Buddhism having no personal God, and no definite form of religious worship, it requires no priestly ministrations. Every man has his destiny entirely in his own hands, and though he may be burdened with an excess of bad over good actions as the net result of former existences, it rests only with himself to redress the balance by strenuously accumulating "merit" and thus rising higher in the scale of being, so as at length to reach the goal of Nirvana, long since attained by the saintly founder of the Buddhist creed. Thus the Pôngyis or monks are not priests. They are recluses who have left the distractions and temptations of the world in order to follow the road pointed out by Gautama, and their ideal is to live the higher life of meditation and self-repression of which he was the perfect example. Pôngyis are often invited to expound the law at funerals and festivals, and they have always acted as instructors of youth. But these are works of supererogation, and the lay Buddhist reveres the Pôngyi

only according to the austerity of his life and the degree in which it conforms to the rules of the Order. To realize the influential position occupied by the Order in Burma, it should be remembered that it is the only Buddhist religious organization in the country, that nine-tenths of the population are Buddhists, that every male Buddhist has to spend part of his boyhood in a monastery, that there are monasteries in every town and nearly every village, and that the giving of alms to the Pôngyis ranks high among "works of merit." The Order was truly described by Bishop Bigandet in 1858 as "the greatest in its extent and diffusion, the most extraordinary and perfect in its fabric and constituent parts, and the wisest in its rules and prescriptions that has ever existed either in ancient or modern times without the pale of Christianity." There are no indications that it has lost ground since then. At the census of 1901 there were over 75,000 Pôngyis in Burma, (inclusive of postulants), and more than 50,000 of these were in the Upper province.

*Thathanabaing* means head or controller of Religion, and *Maha Sanga Raja*, the title employed by the Lieutenant-Governor in addressing the Thathanabaing, may be rendered as "Great Ruler of the Assembly." It is the designation that was used by the Burmese Court in addressing the head of the Order. *Sanga* is a Pali word meaning "Assembly," and is used in religious writings to designate the Buddhist Assembly of the Faithful, an expression which may be compared with the Christian "Communion of Saints." The General of the Order of Mendicants, as head of the sole Buddhist organization in Burma, is treated as the head of the Buddhist religion. Under the native régime the Thathanabaing was appointed by the King, who usually conferred the office on his favourite religious adviser. The Taungdaw *Sayadaw* (Abbot) who had been appointed by King Thebaw survived that monarch's deposition in 1885, and continued to exercise the functions of Thathanabaing with the cognizance and approval of the

British Government. But on his death in 1895 the Government, in spite of numerous petitions from the monks and laity, declined to take any part or lot in filling the vacant post. The Government was, in fact, prevented from doing so by an Act of the Indian Legislature, passed in 1863, which relieved Government officers from all duties embracing the appointment to religious offices and other like matters. The Buddhists were told that it was for them to choose and appoint their own Thathanabaing. After much discussion, an informal election was held by the Mandalay *Sayadaws*, and the Pagan *Sayadaw* received a majority of votes. The Government refused to recognise him, giving as a reason that the majority was not sufficiently decisive. But it is probable that the Pagan's reputed antagonism to secular education and doubts as to his friendliness to the British were the reasons that really led the Government to ignore his election. Up to the time of his death in 1900, the Pagan used the style of *Thamadi*-Thathanabaing (Thathanabaing-Elect), and issued orders to minor ecclesiastical authorities in Upper Burma. But the want of Government recognition weakened his position, and the dissentient minority raised up an opposition Thathanabaing. It would probably have been a wise step to recognise the Pagan *Sayadaw* in spite of his opinions, which might have been modified by tactful and conciliatory treatment. At any rate, the slur on his election assuredly embittered the closing years of his life, and it may be assumed that he threw the whole weight of his influence against the Government. Moreover, confusion was caused by the refusal of the Civil Courts to recognise any chief ecclesiastical authority, and the want of a Thathanabaing with incontestable authority led to much laxity of control in the crowded Kyaungs of Mandalay. Any harm that might have resulted from the recognition of the Pagan would be small in comparison with these evils.

After the Pagan *Sayadaw's* death, the Buddhists of Mandalay again resorted to the expedient of an election. Appoint-

ment by election is foreign to Oriental ideas, especially in the case of a religious office, and the readiness of the monks and laity in grasping at this novel method shows their anxiety to preserve the traditional constitution of the Order intact. The election was again confined to Mandalay, but on this occasion the electorate was broadened by admitting all Pôngyis in Mandalay (not being mere novices or postulants). It should be explained that Mandalay, since its foundation by King Mindôn over forty years ago, has been the chief Buddhist city of Burma. Out of 50,000 monks in Upper Burma, Mandalay supports close on 8,000, and the proportion was much higher in the King's time. Mandalay is a city of monasteries or Kyaungs, even more than Lhasa, and these Kyaungs are seminaries of Buddhism from which monks go out to all parts of Upper and Lower Burma. The city acquired its pre-eminence in this respect owing to the lavish support given to the Order by the Buddhist kings, and although the number of Pôngyis has fallen since Mandalay ceased to be a Royal city, it is still by far the most important centre of Buddhist activity in Burma. What Mandalay decides in such a matter as the appointment of a Thathanabaing is sure of acceptance by the rest of the country. The monk who headed the poll at the election of 1901 died before the question of his recognition by the Government could be settled, and the Buddhist leaders then, without holding a fresh election, solicited Government recognition for the Taungwin *Sayadaw*, who had obtained the next highest number of votes in 1901. The Government having ascertained that this monk was acceptable not only to the monks and laity of Mandalay, but throughout the whole of Upper Burma, decided to acknowledge him, and full effect was given to this decision at the Durbar of November 13th, when the selection made by the monks was formally ratified by the Lieutenant-Governor.

In his Durbar address the Lieutenant - Governor explained the reasons which had led the Government

to recognise a Thathanabaing, and carefully pointed out that the Government was concerned only with the administrative as distinct from the religious functions of the office. He declared that "the Government cannot interfere with the internal affairs of the Buddhist hierarchy," and can only extend to Buddhists, as to all other religious communities, "the equal and impartial protection of the law." At the close of the speech the Sanad was read in English and Burmese. The Thathanabaing then expressed the gratification of the Buddhists at the action taken by Government, and promised to administer the Order in conformity with the rules and principles prescribed in the Buddhist Scriptures.

The Sanad requires the Thathanabaing to assist and support the Government and to comply with its laws. In return he is recognised as supreme in the internal control and administration of the Buddhist hierarchy in Upper Burma, and the Civil Courts are to give effect to his decisions and those of subordinate religious authorities appointed by him in so far as those decisions relate to matters within their competence (*e.g.*, claims to headship of monasteries, appeals against expulsion from monasteries, and the like). It is distinctly provided, however, that in enforcing monastic discipline or otherwise the Thathanabaing's authority is limited by the ordinary law of India. In other words, the mandates of the Buddhist ecclesiastics are deprived of effect when they conflict with the general laws of the country. These are the operative clauses. But it is added that the Government expects the Thathanabaing and his monks to use their influence on the side of law and order and to assist in the work of education, while in return for these good offices the Lieutenant-Governor promises to maintain unabridged certain exemptions and other privileges already enjoyed by the Buddhists in common with other religious communities. It will be seen that the Sanad is something more than a bare recognition of a religious office. It partakes of the nature of a *concordat* between the

temporal power and the head of the Mendicants as regards the rights of the Order and its relation to the body politic.

The Durbar hall was a large and brilliantly decorated pavilion erected by the Buddhists. The audience included 600 monks who had been invited by the Government. They were seated on the left of the dais, while the right was occupied by European and Burmese officers of the Government, Honorary Magistrates, and Municipal Commissioners. In front, mats and carpets were spread for the Buddhist laity who filled the space to overflowing. The Lieutenant-Governor occupied a chair of state on the dais, and was surrounded by his staff, while the Thathanabaing-Elect was seated on his right. The shaven monks in their yellow robes, contrasting strangely with the bright uniforms of the military officers, the spotless white coats and turbans of the Burmese laity, and the richly coloured silks of the native ladies, resplendent in jewels, made up a scene not unworthy of the Royal city. Sir Hugh Barnes was the Viceroy's chief lieutenant in organizing the great ceremonial at Delhi in January, 1903, and under the guidance of such an expert in Durbar etiquette no detail was omitted that could lend dignity and impressiveness to what will in future be known as the Thathanabaing Durbar.

The bald official account of the proceedings ends with the Lieutenant-Governor's departure under a salute of fifteen guns. But from other sources we learn that the Thathanabaing's return progress to his Kyaung was marked by general rejoicings, recalling the outburst of popular enthusiasm in Rome when the labours of the Conclave are over and the announcement *Habemus Pontificem* introduces a new Pope. The *Sayadaw* was borne along the crowded streets in a sedan chair with a many-tiered gilded roof. White umbrellas, the traditional insignia of authority in Burma, were raised aloft on both sides of the chair, while the Sanad and the various emblems of the Order of Mendicants were carried reverently in front. Thousands

of monks and laymen followed the procession. The streets were gaily decked with flags and streamers and spanned by scores of triumphal arches, the various quarters of the city vying with each other in paying their tribute of respect to the venerable head of the Order. Flowers were strewn in his path, and pious Buddhists reaped a rich harvest of "merit" by making offerings to the Thathanabaing, and distributing food and drink at booths erected at intervals along the route. The demonstrations of welcome were so persistent that it took four hours for the procession to cover the distance of five miles from the Durbar pavilion to the Thathanabaing's Kyaung.

The reception accorded to the new incumbent only confirmed the results of the inquiry made by the Government before the Durbar, and left no room for doubt as to the feelings of the monks and laity on the subject. Nor is it often that public opinion in an Indian province is in such complete harmony with the dictates of political expediency. Serious loss of administrative power was involved in officially ignoring the Buddhist hierarchy of Upper Burma, and it was time to change this attitude, and to treat the Thathanabaing as responsible head of a widespread and deeply-rooted organization, which is closely interwoven with the daily life of nine-tenths of the people, and is cherished by them with boundless affection and reverence. Authorities differ in estimating the political influence of the Pôngyis. Bishop Bigandet (in 1858) knew of "no single instance where the Pôngyis as a body had interfered in affairs of State." It is certain, however, that in King Mindôn's reign royal edicts confiscating lands and transferring them to the national militia were withdrawn in deference to remonstrances by the Pôngyis, and in other matters also they occasionally acted as intermediaries between the rulers and the people. In the disturbed period following the annexation of Upper Burma in 1885 there were few risings of importance that were not originated or fomented by Pôngyis. The picture drawn

by a popular writer of the impeccable monks standing aloof and counselling non-resistance to the foreign invasion does more credit to his imagination than to his knowledge of recent history. Every district officer is aware how little the rules and precepts of the Order availed to restrain the monks, and how seriously the pacification of the country was retarded by their intrigues.

Enough has been said to make it clear that the Order is an institution of primary importance in Burma, and that the Government cannot afford to relinquish the traditional and convenient method of dealing with it through a central authority—namely, the Thathanabaing.

To Lord Curzon belongs the credit of closing the period of suspense which began after the death of King Thebaw's Thathanabaing in 1895. But although the provincial officials and the people of the country are almost unanimous in applauding the Viceroy's action, he has been taken severely to task in an "urgent communication" from a reverend missionary at Rangoon to the London organ of the Baptist sect. The writer protests against the recognition of a legal head of the Buddhist community "before whose mandates all must bow." But a perusal of the Sanad would have shown him that the operation of the Thathanabaing's mandates is limited to the Order of which he is the elected head, and is further limited by the ordinary laws of the land. Any Pôngyi who disapproves of his superior's mandates is, of course, at liberty to leave the Order. It is also objected that "no such policy has been pursued elsewhere in India." But there is no other province of India which is homogeneous in its religious creed, and in which that creed possesses a well-marked hierarchy. The reverend missionary erroneously supposes that Buddhist monks, "in civil affairs are subject to a body of laws different from our codified civil law." In civil affairs, as distinct from the internal affairs of their Order, they are entirely amenable to the ordinary civil and criminal law, and the religious code which governs the internal polity of the



Order is enforceable only in so far as it is in harmony with that law. But the action of Government is further stigmatized in general terms as "an alliance with the head of an alien religion," and as affording a "strong buttress to non-Christian faith, by giving it a prestige and power before the country which could never have been obtained otherwise." The Buddhists, it is said, "recognise it as a quasi-establishment of Buddhism as the State religion of Upper Burma." The *Baptist* newspaper's comment on the matter is that Buddhism will gain a new cohesion and Christian missions will become still more difficult.

The controversy as to the right policy of a Christian Government with regard to the various creeds of British India is one of long standing and many vicissitudes. Of late years there has been a lull, and it would indeed be unfortunate if the recognition of the Thathanabaing should be used as a pretext for reopening the discussion. In annexing Upper Burma, the British Government promised that the religion of the people would be respected, and that their ecclesiastical dignitaries would be recognised. It was not objected that this announcement was a departure from the established policy of religious neutrality. Lord Dufferin's promise in 1886 seemed to be merely an application of the principle of toleration to the newly conquered province. It is true that there was a regrettable lapse in the fulfilment of the promise from 1895 onwards; but that is hardly a valid reason for repudiating it altogether, as the missionary writer would appear to suggest.

The Order of Mendicants is no doubt the strongest bulwark of the Buddhist faith in Burma. It was Bishop Bigandet's "deliberate opinion" that, "if the Pôngyis' Order were to give way and crumble to the dust, the vital energies of that false creed would soon be weakened and completely paralyzed." But the missionaries are mistaken if they suppose that the vitality of the Order depends on the hierarchy of which the Thathanabaing is the head. Lower Burma has been without a hierarchy ever since

it was wrested from the kingdom of Ava—fifty years ago in the case of Pegu, and eighty years as regards Arakan and Tenasserim. But there is no indication that the Order is decaying or losing its hold on the people in Lower Burma. In any case, the justice and expediency of the measure being clear, the Government could not hesitate to recognise the Thathanabaing merely because the continued existence of a Buddhist hierarchy may conceivably be an obstacle to the proselytizing work of Christian missions.

## THE SERVICES OF THE TURKS IN JOINING THE CIVILIZATIONS OF EUROPE AND ASIA.\*

BY E. H. PARKER.

THE mere name of Professor Chavannes is now a guarantee that his Chinese work is of the highest quality, and already he has established for himself a reputation almost as intrinsically mighty as that of Stanislas Julien, apart from the extrinsic advantages to him which come of more recent and improved sinological methods. In the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for October, 1899, I brought up the subject of Early Turks to the point where Dr. Hirth of Munich (now of Columbia University) had given M. Radloff the benefit of his careful Chinese researches. Not content with German aid, the renowned Russian "Turkologue" has now set M. Chavannes to work, and it must be at once admitted that several very significant advances have been made by the French professor. The present publication concerns more especially the Western Turks, touching which important "link" between Europe and Asia I published a paper and a reign-list in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for October last. On p. 364 of that article, I give a table of the more definite Western *Khagans*, beginning with Sêh-ti-mi. One of the most interesting and effective things in M. Chavannes' present invaluable sketch is the absolute clearness with which he brings out Professor Marquart's ingenious identification of this Chinese form with the Istâmi Khagan of the newly-discovered Turkish inscriptions, and with the Stembis Khan of the Greek authors. This is, to use the cant expression of the day, an "epoch-making" discovery of the very first magnitude. Marquart is also to be complimented on having identified the Arab *kun-çul* with

\* "Sbornik Trudoff Orchonskoi Ekspeditsyi" ("Collection of the Works of the Orchon Expedition"), Part VI., being the "Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux." By Edouard Chavannes. Price 6s.

the Turkish title *kul-çur*, spelt by the Chinese *küeh-chüeh*, and still pronounced in Corea *kyöl-chöl*, according to definite etymological rules. Another very excellent feature in M. Chavannes' work is the painstaking sagacity with which he has rooted out the identity of innumerable place-names in the Pamir, Oxus, and Hindoo Kush regions. A splendid chart illustrates this part of his subject. Dr. Eitel once did good yeoman service in this direction ; but, unfortunately, his " Handbook to Chinese Buddhism " leaves it doubtful in most cases upon what sources he drew when giving us the Sanskrit, Persian, Ephthalite, or Tibetan equivalent for any particular Chinese place-name. We feel, however, that we can thoroughly trust Professor Chavannes ; truth, and proved truth only, where obtainable, is his motto. If he occasionally (and it be not presumptuous even to hint at so much) goes wrong, it is manifestly because he does not happen to have personally applied his luminous intelligence to the whole and immediate elucidation of that particular point ; or, perhaps, because he has been " hypnotized " by an instinctive awe of great names ; or, again, perhaps because he wishes to open a voluntary retreat for his oversanguine colleagues.

At the end of my short paper on the Western Turks (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1903), the editor casually mentioned that a continuation of the already in part published history of the Turks (in English) was at the disposal of anyone who might feel inclined to print it. The part thus offered, with 800 explanatory notes, is practically an English version (though, of course, very inferior to the French) of the fascicule under review, now issued by the Russian Academy. Should any of our millionaires feel inclined to strike out a new protection line, and make a fresh bid for cosmopolitan immortality, the *manes* of the Turks and the Avars will be duly grateful, and I shall be able to " discharge " my manuscript. At present the honours are pretty equally divided between Professor Hirth and Professor Chavannes ; Russia, since Dr. Bretschneider's

death, is either sinologically weak, or is generating steam for future efforts. England is nowhere—a mere dumping-ground. At the same time, I must observe that some slight attempt *has* been made to conduct a ray of sweetness and light into the unsympathetic British brain, as will be seen from the list of (mostly unread) publications at foot.\*

M. Chavannes' treatment of his subject is as perfect as our present state of knowledge permits. To a large extent it may be said (and, indeed, he practically says it) that, as translators of Chinese, the (old) Jesuits, Deguignes, Rémusat, Pauthier, etc., are now rather obsolete—*i.e.*, the condition of Chinese knowledge amongst Europeans was such at the time they wrote that all their work needs thorough overhauling, which means that the easiest course is to do it all over again; for cobbling up old errors simply leads to condoning error. Deguignes, however, is distinctly entitled, plagiarist in detail though he was, to great credit for having conceived the grandiose *idea* of a general history of the Turkish (*i.e.*, Hun) races. The utmost pains have been taken by Professor Chavannes to verify all doubtful passages, to collate parallel or conflicting texts, to trace out routes, to sift evidence, to index all proper names, and so on. The excellent indexing, in fact, is half the battle. His general methods secure to him our complete confidence. He is very much clearer in his marshalling of evidence than Dr. Hirth, and far less speculative in his judgments.

\* "The Hiung-nu and the Tunguses." A series of papers in the *China Review*, vols. xix.-xxi., 1890-1892.

"A Thousand Years of the Tartars." Sampson Low and Co., 1894.

"The Origin of the Turks." *Academy*, December, 1895; *Historical Review*, July, 1896, and January, 1900.

"Progress in Turkish Discoveries." *China Review*, vol. xxiv.; *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1899.

"Orkhon Inscriptions." *Shanghai Asiatic Society's Journal*, 1897.

"Early Turks" (with 500 notes). *China Review*, vols. xxiv., xxv.

"Lob Nor and Khotan." *Anglo-Russian Society's Journal*, 1903.

Various papers on the Wuh-kih, Early Manchus, Nüchêns, Coreans, Cathayans, Tangut, Khokand, Nepaul, etc. *China Review*; *Chinese Recorder*; *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, 1890-1902.

Probably M. Chavannes unconsciously owes as much to the admirable and natural lucidity of the beautiful French language as Dr. Hirth is unwittingly handicapped by the inborn fogginess of his own somewhat drowsy and convoluted tongue. Hence we do not lay undue stress upon this minor point of *technique*, but offer to both distinguished professors our respectful words of encouragement, assuring them that, no matter what they may do in the same line, in future at least one admiring eye will always be upon them, and that at the same time a chaste corrective will always be kept in pickle in case they stray too far out of the path of sinological virtue, and swallow novelties too credulously.

There is one important point upon which, having paid the above unreserved compliments, I would venture to hazard a serious word of criticism. M. Chavannes, following the lead of Deguignes and Gibbon, accepts the identity of the Jou-jan (or "Geougen") with the Avars. In the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April, 1902, I submitted proofs that this could not possibly be the case, nor can I believe that the combined labours of sinologists, turkologues, and Arabo-Persian scholars will ever succeed in establishing the position—at least on the evidence now available. I notice that Professor Bury, in his new edition of Gibbon, has accepted some of my emendations concerning the Turks: in any future edition it would be well also to ponder this point of the Geougen. The Chinese histories, which are, so far as is known, absolutely the sole authority in the archives of the world for the very existence of the Jou-jan at any stage whatever, give us the whole record of that ruling clan or tribe, starting from the moment when the son of a captured slave (nationality doubtful) gave that name to his marauding band (*circa* A.D. 300), right down to the day when all the last survivors of the same ruling race were massacred in a body, about the year 555-556. During the whole of this period there is not a single mention of one solitary Jou-jan (not to speak of a band of them) having once set his foot, except as a refugee for a few weeks, west of the

limits which now bound the Chinese Empire ; on the contrary, we are told in the plainest language that occupying the Ili and Balkash region was the powerful Hiung-nu\* (*i.e.*, Turk) State of Yüeh-pan, immediately descended from those imperial Hiung-nu who had been broken up by China 500 years earlier—a State much farther advanced in civilization than that of the Jou-jan, and a State still in A.D. 450 described by the Chinese frontier provincials as being ruled by a *shen-yü*—*i.e.*, by a monarch yet bearing the ancient Hiung-nu imperial title. This title was seen 500 years still later in the *jennye*, or ruler of the Ghuz Turks (see *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1904, p. 139). In the year 448 these Yüeh-pan in the West even endeavoured to join the Toba (a kind of Mongol) Emperor of North China in the East in attacking the intermediate Jou-jans, with whom the Yüeh-pan had then for some years been at war. Meanwhile, embassies from almost every Turkestan State between the Caspian Sea and the river Indus had sent frequent missions to North China : in not one single instance are the Jou-jan mentioned in any connection whatever with reference to these Turkestan, Caspian, Caucasus, or Indian missions. Many of these Turkestan and High Asian States came occasionally with the Eptal and Persian envoys, and many are even stated to be, or to have been, under Eptal supremacy ; not once does any one of the envoys even mention the Jou-jan, nor is it ever once stated that any one of these missions entered the country of, ran foul of, or even saw the face of a Jou-jan. The only instances where States on the eastern fringe of Turkestan, and at the same time on the western fringe of China—hundreds of miles east of any place known to Greeks, Persians, or Armenians—are mentioned in connection with the Jou-jan are those in which (1) a Jou-jan governor of (modern) Hami, (2) Jou-jan intrigues in (modern) Turfan, and (3) a Jou-jan flying raid, *viâ* Kokonor, upon

\* Hiung-nu is the only generic or race word embracing in one the ideas of "Huns, Scythians, Turks, Ouigours, and Tartars."

Khoten, are casually alluded to in connection with mere passing events. Even with regard to the Eptals of Balkh, with whom the western branch of the later Jou-jan formed humble marriage alliances in the sixth century, communicating with them by way of Issyk-kul and (modern) Kokand, it is nowhere said that a Jou-jan hostile force ever entered Eptal dominions, or that at any time any Jou-jan ruler or general ever had the least particle of political influence in Eptal territory ("Eptal territory," roughly, means the Oxus, Pamir, Hindu Kush, and Indus areas). Certainly, one of the histories of the Southern Chinese dynasties, which never had any serious political relations with Turkestan at all, mentions in 520 a mysterious country called *Hwah* (never previously or afterwards once alluded to by that name in any history, Northern or Southern), which is manifestly either part of, or the whole of, Eptal; and this same Southern history adds that, 200 years previously (A.D. 300), the progenitors of these Hwah, before they migrated west, were a branch of the (modern) Turfan people, and *had been* under Jou-jan supremacy; but, if we can place any reliance at all upon this apocryphal account, which, moreover, contains absurdities (see *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for July, 1902, p. 155), it simply strengthens my general position. Other histories mention that Hwoh (the War-wâlîz of the Arabs) was the Eptal capital, and this fact is the probable origin of the whole hearsay story. Both Chinese characters are to this day in Corea pronounced *hwal* (lower tone series), which gives us precisely *war* or *wâl*; and even the Chinese sometimes call the city in question *A-hwan* (practically the present Kundûz). From the beginning of Eptal migration, in B.C. 200, there had always remained a number of Eptal tribes on the Chinese frontiers, as was also the case with the Hiung-nu and Turks.

Then, again, as to the spread of the Jou-jan power East; the Jou-jan are once or twice mentioned in connection with the wide-spread Cathayan (Kitan) tribes lying between (modern) Manchuria and the Jou-jan; and in connection



with the Chinese adventurers who were endeavouring to form an independent State in the region of (modern) Peking: they are even once mentioned as intriguing with (modern) Liao Tung, in order to destroy one of the Cathayan tribes called *Ti-tou-kan*. But at that time the early Manchus (then called Wuh-kih) had not yet come down southwards into Liao Tung, which, with its capital (modern) Mukden, then belonged to the northernmost of the three Korean States. The Jou-jan history never once names the Wuh-kih; the Wuh-kih history (see *Chinese Recorder*, November, 1893) never once names the Jou-jan: in short, there is nothing to show that any single Jou-jan ever saw any single Wuh-kih, and in any case the powerful Cathayans lay between the two. To sum up, the Jou-jan from first to last were confined to (modern) Mongolia, to the total exclusion of Turkestan, Tibet, Tsaidam, Little Bucharía, North and South Manchuria, Lake Baikal, Liao Tung, Corea, and China proper; they were exceptionally ignorant; so dirty that both the Chinese and the Yüeh-pan were disgusted with them; totally unacquainted with writing; never possessed a town, in the usually accepted sense; and are never mentioned as having gained a decisive battle, except perhaps in connection with the raids of their north-westerly neighbours the High Carts (Tölös, or early Ouigours). Being hemmed in west and north-west by tribes akin to the Turks (Yüeh-pan and Ouigours), it is almost impossible that the Greeks, Persians, or Armenians could have even heard of them, except through the Eptals, over whom the Jou-jan never exercised any power, and who would, of course, call them by a name *used by* Eptals.

I have set forth thus uncompromisingly the exact situation, so as to dispose once for all of the serious miscalculation of Deguignes, who has, of course, misled the unsuspecting Gibbon. The present work of M. Chavannes is dated 1903; but I am well aware that the manuscript was given to the Russian Academy in 1900; so that, even if M. Chavannes had been able to, and had done me the honour to, con-

sider the positions advanced by me in 1902, he could not have taken notice of them whilst the leisurely Muscovite academicians were daily expected to print and publish his manuscript. But if he ever finds time, amongst his multifarious and brilliant studies, to apply himself with the same energy to the Jou-jan that he has done with such conspicuously successful results in the case of the Western Turks, I feel sure that he will in the end come round to, or at least endeavour to disprove, my opinion.

Meanwhile, as the obstinacy of error is in the ratio of the erring man's renown, I proceed to examine one by one the "evidences" produced by M. Chavannes in support of Deguignes. These appear to me to be either no relevant evidences at all, or to be evidences which militate against the view of Deguignes rather than for it.

1. Menander, in describing Valentine's mission to the Turks in 576, says he passed through a Scythian people, north of the Aral, subordinate to "Anagai, King of the Utigurs." M. Chavannes remarks in a note: *Ce nom paraît être le même que celui d'Anakoui, le roi des Joan-joan (Jou-jan), qui s'était tué en 552 après avoir été vaincu par les Turcs. Cette remarque est de Hirth.* What is the real use of connecting the name of an Eastern Jou-jan man, who died on the Chinese frontier in 552, with that of the King of the (unidentified) Utigurs spoken of by a Greek 4,000 miles away to the west in 576? During the thirty-two years of his chequered reign, Anakwei's presence on the frontiers of China is signalized year by year. At first he shared that rule with his relative, bearing the apparently Hindu name of Brahman, Brahman being west and he east, Brahman alone having any relations with the Eptals. Hindu names were not uncommon then, even in China, and the Jou-jan are distinctly stated to have shared Buddhist or Brahman influence with China and High Asia generally. For a long time Anakwei was a fugitive, and a suppliant for the Toba Emperor's favour. For nearly 100 years past the Jou-jan had lost all authority over even Turfan, and

even over Hami. Moreover, there were plenty of contemporary Turks and Tobas whose names began with "Ana": for instance, there was Anahung, contemporary of Anakwei, and Anachï, mentioned by M. Chavannes himself; there were several others whose names began with "Ano" or "Anou." Coincidences of sound are valueless without coincidences of fact. Supposing it were a fact that an early edition of James the Second of England were known to have galloped round the Sea of Aral with a lady in 576, we should have been more than equally justified in coupling Anakwei's name with that of "Anne Hyde." Such an identification recalls Dr. Hirth's suggestion that Attila's relative Hernax was probably King Huh-ni-ki or Huh-ni-sz of Sogd, the supposed final *ki* or *sz* not being either *ki* or *sz* at all, but a grammatical particle *i*, meaning "already."\*

2. M. Chavannes, after pointing out that the so-called Avars of Europe were the "False Avars," asks, "Who, then, were the True Avars?" and to this he replies: "The Joan-joan" (Jou-jan). The following are his reasons:—Priscus states that, between 461 and 465, the True Avars drove west the Sibirs, who, in their turn, drove other

\* I may here allude to a convincing instance of the traps that waylay the translator from Chinese. M. Chavannes alludes to a Turkish King of Kapisa called *Shi-fu-pih*, or, by a later history, *Tai-shih-pih*. Neither name is correct. The words *shi* and *tai* both mean "hereditary," and, as the name of the second T'ang Emperor was *Li Shu-min*, the later history *throughout* always replaces the word *shi* by the word *tai*, in order to avoid the *tabu*. The character *shih* has a tiny stroke added to the character *fu*, and a copyist might easily mistake one for the other, just as with the character *k'in* in the foreign word *tegin*, which is nearly always written one stroke short, as *l'ih*. The real meaning is "the kings all bore the *hereditary* designation of *Shih-pih*." This word *shih-pih* also occurs in the title of the Turkish King of Kutcha, and even one of the great Turkish supreme Khagans was called *Shi-pih*. This same curious *tabu* is observable in the name of another Turkish Khagan *K'i-min*, who was styled in the later histories *K'i-jên* to avoid the second syllable of the T'ang Emperor's name. *Min* and *jên* both mean "people." It is by no means impossible that this word *Shi-pih* may have some connection with the presumably Turkish eponymous word *Sibir*.

tribes upon Constantinople. Again, Theophylactus Simocatta says that the True Avars, reputed the first of Scythic nations, were conquered by the Turks, and the remains of them fled, some to the Taugats (Chinese), and others to the Moukri, *vraisemblablement le peuple de race tongouse que les Chinois appelaient alors Mou-ki, et qu'ils appelèrent plus tard Mo-ho.*

Now, firstly, if the True Avars drove west the Sibirs, why should not the Yüeh-pan (whose name, moreover, is susceptible of change, under the very rules so often cited by M. Chavannes, into E-var) be, *primâ facie*, the Avars, at least as much as their eastern neighbours the Jou-jan? Secondly, as no Jou-jan force is ever stated to have gone west of (modern) Tarbagatai, how could the Jou-jan have (as "True Avars") driven the Sibirs west, unless the Sibirs were themselves the Yüeh-pan, who are by the Chinese distinctly located in the Balkash region? Otherwise, how did the Jou-jan jump over the Yüeh-pan? In 448 we find the Yüeh-pan, after a dozen years' war with the Jou-jan, sending a mission to North China to arrange with the Toba Emperors (of North China only) a common attack on the Jou-jan, and the narrative goes on:—"After that, they sent from time to time other missions to Court with tribute." In 449 the Tobas thus allied inflicted such a crushing defeat upon the Jou-jan Khagan that "from this time he was isolated and weak, skulking far away on the remote frontiers"—i.e., the frontiers of the Chinese world. In 458 the same Khagan, who thus could not have skulked very far, received another crushing defeat in the Orkhon region, 150,000 carts being employed to carry the Chinese stores; the Khagan "never dared to return south again," and died in 464. These facts seem effectually to dispose of M. Chavannes' interpretation of Priscus' words. The Yüeh-pan are never again anywhere mentioned. On the other hand, the Jou-jan now *for the first time* imitatively adopt Chinese reign styles, and remain for another century in close relations with North China. The Yüeh-pan

*must* have gone West. It is true that, three centuries later, after the crushing by China of the Western Turks, the T'ang dynasty styled part of the province, where the Yüeh-pan *used to be*, by that name; but that fact is immaterial to the present issue, for there were also the provinces of "India" and "Ta-ts'in" (Europe) established in the Oxus region during the momentary direct rule of China in "Western Turkey."

Secondly, as to Simocatta, it is perfectly clear, both from Chinese and Western sources, that the Turks (once Hiung-nu) practically conquered or overlorded every nation or tribe all the way from the Chinese borders to Russia, after their adoption of the national patronymic "Türk," and after the successful rebellion against their masters the Jou-jan in 550-552. That the Western half of them pursued the True Avars west seems, from Western accounts, perfectly true; but there is nothing in either Chinese or Western evidence to show that such True Avars were the Jou-jan; whilst there is abundant Chinese evidence to show that they *could not* have been so. On the other hand, there is nothing in either Chinese or Western evidence to show that such True Avars were *not* the Yüeh-pan, and there is *some* good Chinese evidence to suggest that they were; for even the Chinese describe the Yüeh-pan as being the first Scythic (Hiung-nu) nation in importance—one imperially styled, and one far superior in refinement and civilization to the Jou-jan. That the remains of the Jou-jan, like the remains of the True Avars, fled to the Taugats (Chinese) is amply supported by the evidence I have already cited in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January last (p. 142), but that fact affords no reason for assuming that the True Avars were the Jou-jan. What Simocatta meant by saying that the rest of the True Avars fled to the "Moukri" there is as yet no evidence to show; but it seems absolutely certain, from what I have adduced, that the Wuh-kih (Early Manchus), which M. Chavannes transcribes "Mou-ki," could have had no relations whatever

with the Jou-jan refugees, even if there *had* been any such "other" refugees, and even if the Jou-jan had been the True Avars. As I have laid myself out to expose weak evidence, I leave no shred of it hanging on. The words Wuh-kih are simply the modern "mandarin" pronunciation of two characters still pronounced in Canton like the English *Mud-cut*. The later form Moh-hoh (Mo-ho) is still pronounced in Canton like the English *Mood-hot*. Both forms clearly stand for one and the same sound, or approximately the same sound influx; for it was precisely during the Toba rule that the Northern Chinese language was being corrupted by centuries of Tartar admixture, and that the true ancient Chinese speech was being more and more relegated to the South. Hence it follows, as I have proved at length elsewhere, that by a curious historical roll of Fortune's wheel, it is in Canton and Corea that we now always find the best etymological solutions for early syllables. *Mul-kil* and *Mal-kal* are to this day the Corean pronunciations of the Chinese characters borrowed by them 1,000 or more years ago, and the treaty port of Che-*mul-po* actually contains one of the syllables in question. All Canton final *t* become final *l* in Corea without any exceptions. What the Manchus of those days were really exactly called we can only guess—probably something like *Morkir* or *Bürger*; and still more probably this imaginary word is a Mongolic, Sien-pi, or Tungusic word signifying "eastwards" or "pig-keepers," or in some other way indicating the site and habits of the Early Manchus. The sound *Mou-kri* would not be at all an unlikely one if there were other evidence to support it, but without such evidence the English word "*murky* men" has just as much right to be suggested; and if M. Chavannes gives the "mandarin" sound for *kih* or *ki*, he ought also to give the "mandarin" initial to *wuh* or *wu*, and not make it *mu*, unless he possesses special evidence that in this one place it *was* pronounced "mu."

Hence I must record my disagreement *in toto* with every

line and every word of the following important conclusion:—  
*Ces brèves indications tendent à faire identifier les véritables Avars avec les Joan-joan, qui furent en effet de grands conquérants vers le milieu du V<sup>e</sup> siècle, qui étaient regardés comme les plus redoutables des peuples barbares de l'Asie, et qui enfin, après avoir été vaincus par les Turcs, se réfugièrent en partie, de 552 à 555 chez les Chinois gouvernés par la dynastie tongouse des Wci occidentaux.* The Jou-jan were ignorant raiders of filthy and bestial habits, and no permanent conquerors. It was towards the middle of the fifth century that the Jou-jan received their most crushing checks at Toba hands. For 200 years both North and South China had been almost totally cut off from Central Asia, and the most redoubtable of the barbarians to "classic" or Southern China were the Tungus (*i.e.*, Tung-hu, or "Eastern Barbarian") family of Toba, themselves masquerading successfully as Emperors of North China. The *whole* of the remaining ruling clique of the Jou-jan took refuge with the Western Tobas, who basely surrendered them all to Turkish massacre. "Western Toba" cannot do double duty as Tabgatz *and* Moukri; in any case, Moukri has nothing to do with Wuh-kih, and the Russian sense of "Tungus" applies solely to Manchu tribes, totally different in habit and origin from the Sien-pi "Tung-hu." The majority of the tribes ruled by the Jou-jan were Hiung-nu (Turkish), and this always has been, and is, the case, whoever the supreme nominal ruler of Mongolia may be.

3. There is one other matter in which, apparently out of fulness of respect for his German colleague Hirth, M. Chavannes seems to be a trifle unsteady. Dr. Hirth's views on Ta-ts'in and Fuh-lin are well known, and doubtless Syria was as much Fuh-lin as any other Eastern part of the Roman and Byzantine Empires; but Fuh-lin certainly was not pre-eminently exclusively Syria, nor (most emphatically) had the word anything to do with the sound "Bethlehem."

The oldest name for any part of the later Ta-ts'in is Li-kien, or Lai-kon, which the *Shi Ki* (or earliest Chinese

history proper, 90 B.C.) states was north of Arsac (Parthia): its position towards the Aral or Caspian is rendered all the more certain by its being coupled in that work with the well-established An-ts'ai, or, later, Land of the Alans. Dr. Hirth omits to quote this last important passage in his work on the Roman Orient, and in his *Shi Ki* extracts cited therein.

The next history is the *Han Shu*, which speaks of a State having Kipin (Kapisa) on its east, and *Li-kien* to its west. *Li-kien* is here coupled with T'iao-chi (Babylonia), so that here again we get a suggestion of Upper Euphrates, the Caspian, or Armenia. Dr. Hirth also omits this significant passage.

Next comes the *After Han Shu*, which (*i.e.*, the records forming which) first mentions Ta-ts'in by that name, and identifies it with the earlier *Li-kien*. In A.D. 97 a Chinese mission to Ta-ts'in got as far as the Euphrates, and in 120 some Western traders, entering China by way of Burma, said that they came from the "west of the sea," where Ta-ts'in also was. It is added that Parthia tried to obstruct and monopolize the silk trade between China and Ta-ts'in overland. The mention of King An-tun, by a second sea mission in A.D. 166, has justly led most European translators to suggest [Marcus or other of the] Antoninus [house], especially as the rulers of Ta-ts'in are stated to be elective. Thus China already then knew in a vague way that Ta-ts'in was approachable both by land and sea.

The *Wei Lioh* (about A.D. 220) makes it clear that Ta-ts'in was west of the Great Sea, and also west of T'iao-chi (Babylonia), which was in turn west of Parthia. It is explained that a Ta-ts'in sea trade with Parthian ports sprang up because Ta-ts'in coveted Chinese silk in order to unravel and re-weave it in their own fashion. Then follows another important sentence, which Dr. Hirth again unaccountably omits: "North-west of K'ang-kü (Samarcand) are . . . and An-ts'ai, otherwise called A-lan, bordering to the west on Ta-ts'in," touching which country the author



goes on specifically to state that "our information is very vague."

The *Tsin Shu* says that in 284 Cochin China and Ta-ts'in sent offerings to China together.

The *Wei Shu* (about A.D. 570) says that the old T'iao-chi is now part of Persia, and that it offers a circuitous sea route to Ta-ts'in, which lies between two seas, and trades by sea with South-West China (Yün Nan). The name Arsac (Parthia) now only refers to a petty State, having Persia on its west and Samarcand on its north: it probably coincides with the Media-Atropene State to which, according to Mommsen, the last Arsac fled when Ardashir founded the new Sassanide power. This would be about Merv; but, wherever it was, "from the western limits of Arsac, following the sea curve, you can also reach Ta-ts'in."

The *Liang Shu* mentions a sea trade between Ta-ts'in, Parthia, India, and Cochin China, but adds that few persons from this last region ever seem to reach Ta-ts'in; however, in 226 a Ta-ts'in trader reached the Southern Court (Nanking).\*

With the seventh century an entirely new name, Fuh-lin (the old Ta-ts'in), comes into vogue, undoubtedly through the conquests of the Turks, who, for a century back, had

\* The following extracts from vol. ii. of Mommsen's *Roman Provinces* are not without significance. Page 1, note:—"The conception that the Roman and the Parthian Empires were two great States, standing side by side, and indeed the only ones in existence, dominated the whole Roman East, particularly the frontier provinces." Page 13:—"After the battle with the Parthians, in which King Antiochus Sidetes fell, the [Greek] Syrian kings did not again seriously attempt to assert their rule beyond the Euphrates. Both coasts of the Persian Gulf were in possession of the Parthians." Page 19:—"The determining influence of Rome consequently reached as far as the Caucasus and the western course of the Caspian Sea. This involved an overlapping [with Parthia]." Page 38:—"Concerning the organization of matters in the principalities on the Caucasus we know nothing; but as they are subsequently reckoned among the Roman client-States, probably at that time [40-20 B.C.] the Roman influence prevailed here also." [See the remarks upon Ta-ts'in and Fuh-lin in my papers on the Avars and Franks, and on the Western Turks, above cited.]

then had regular land intercourse with Constantinople. The name first appears in the *Sui Shu*, where it is stated that Fuh-lin is 4,500 *li* (1,500 miles) north-west of Persia (*i.e.*, the Persian capital). The *T'ang Shu* next mentions it in 625, when the King of Kao-ch'ang (Turfan) presented the Emperor with the earliest "pet-dogs from Fuh-lin" ever heard of in China. In speaking of India, the *T'ang Shu* says (retrospectively) that the Emperor of the preceding Sui dynasty had sent an envoy named P'ei Kū to try and get through overland to the West, but that P'ei Kū failed to reach either India or Fuh-lin. I have already mentioned (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1903, p. 363) how P'ei Kū gave us three distinct roads to the West Sea, one by the West Turks and Fuh-lin; another, *farther south*, by Persia; and a third *viâ* the Indus. The same history mentions (also retrospectively) that, between the death of K'u-sah-wo (Khu-sra-va, or Chosroës, in 628) and the accession of his daughter (Borán, in 631), his son Shī-li (Sirouë) reigned for a year; Sirouë's son, on his father's death, *taking refuge in Fuh-lin*. In the face of all the above positive standard evidence, it is impossible to deny that Fuh-lin, even if it occasionally meant Syria, most certainly included the Caucasus and Black Sea regions, if not the whole of Asia Minor. In the year 739 one of the Turkish Kings of Kapisa actually bore the patronymic of "Fuh-lin," which perhaps indicates his mother's nationality. In the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April, 1902, pp. 356-358, I have given full later evidence, all tending to show that Li-kien, Ta-ts'in, and Fuh-lin, always meant, in a vague way, the almost unknown Greek, Roman, Byzantine, or Frank power predominant for the time in Europe—*i.e.*, it was *not* a Persian, *not* an Arab, *not* an African, *not* a Tartar or Turk power; and no idea of specially separating the Syrian from the Romano-Greek, or, as we should say, European element, ever crossed the Chinese mind, which conceived nothing more definite than a fair, tall, manly race, sharing the virtues of the conquering

Chinese element of Ts'in (Shen Si province, where the capital was); whence the complimentary name Ta-ts'in, or "Great Ts'in," was given to it. Consequently, I am unable to understand how it is that M. Chavannes, almost absolutely throughout his work, follows Hirth's mistaken lead, and deliberately translates "Fuh-lin" as "Syria" pure and simple; more especially as he himself, on the authority of the T'ang Shu (p. 170) shows Fuh-lin to be over 4,000 *li* north-west of Persia, and (p. 256) pronounces it to have meant, in that identical passage, "Roman Orient." Whether, as I have suggested, Li-kien really meant "Hyrkan," and Fuh-lin really meant "Fereng," is, of course, still an open question, and I have never endeavoured to "force the pace." Possibly Lai-kon may be *Ἕλληκων*; but it is necessary to read what Mommsen says about the earliest colonial use of the word "Greek."

It is singular that while the Turkish inscriptions give us so many proper names by which we can identify Chinese, Tibetan, and Tartar persons and places, they mention so few by which we can ever guess at Greek, Persian, or Eptal proper names. The explanation probably is that at the date of the inscriptions (by the Northern Turks, eighth century), the doughty deeds of Stembis Khan in the West (sixth century) had already become mere tradition to the ignorant nomads; the Turkish (Aramæan) written character not having been invented before the Nestorians came to the Far East (seventh century); the West Turks having been quite ignorant of written records; and the North or East Turks having from the first had no intimate knowledge of West Turk doings in Russia, Turkey, and the Black Sea—Caspian regions (as we now call them). For the same reason we find no Turkish mention of the Avars. The "Apar-apurim" of the inscriptions is a doubtful reading of Thomsen's, not sanctioned by Radloff, who gives "Par-Purim." At present there is no evidence to show what people this was; possibly "Fars," or "Persians," or even Eptals.

I confine my criticisms for the present to these two main points of the Avars and Ta-ts'in, touching which I feel sure that M. Chavannes will yet succeed in giving us more light. In pursuing these inquiries, it is of the utmost importance not to travel one yard beyond the evidence. Theorizing and generalizing are all very well and useful in their place, but they should be rigidly excluded from statements of fact; or, at all events, should be "ear-marked" as imaginative, as distinct from positive matter.

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Touching the meaning of the Russian word *Nyemets*, applied to the Germans, I find that in the year 1254 the Chinese history of the Mongol conquests speaks of the Hungarians as the "*Ma-cha-r* tribe," and of the Germans as the "*Nieh-mi-sz* tribe"; but, as to the opinions I expressed on p. 148 of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January last, I have just received from M. Sergius Syromyatnikoff, editor of the *Novaya Vremya*, the following important corrections:

"The old Russian *nyemii* means, not only 'dumb,' but also 'unintelligible of speech.' Thus, in a translation of Isaiah (xxv. 6), dated 1047: *yasn bendet yazik nyemüich* = 'clear will be the language of the unintelligible' ['the tongue of the dumb shall sing,' is the English version—E. H. P.]. Again, in the *Perm Annals* for 1091, we read: *Tam je i Pechera, tot yazik nyem* = 'There are also the Pechera, whose tongue is unintelligible.' The word *nyemtsi* was applied, not only to Germans, but to all foreigners, as appears from an old translation of the Byzantine 'Book of Extracts': *Pereskok priide iz nyemetsi* = 'A deserter came over from the foreigners.' The first instance of the word *Nyemec* being applied to Germans is found in Nestor's (*i.e.*, our oldest) chronicle, under the year 987: *Idyëte paki v Nyemči* = 'Go again to the Germans.' In the treaty of peace concluded in 1195 between Novgorod and the German traders of Wisby, the word occurs thrice for 'Germans.' As you see from the 'Book of Extracts,'

the word *nyemets* was common to the Southern as well as to the Eastern and Western Slavs. In Bohemia (Czech) we have *němý*, 'dumb,' and *Němec*, 'German.' No doubt the word *nyemets* came to the Turks from the Balkan Slavs, and to the Hungarians from the Western Slavs, because the Slavs dwelt between the Germans and Hungarians on the one hand and the Turks on the other; both in Hungarian and Turkish there are many borrowed Slav words."

With reference to the above, it is for Russian scholars to settle this question amongst themselves. I will simply add that Dr. Bretschneider (*N. China Br. R. As. Soc. Journ.*, vol. x., p. 161) also cites Nestor, but he puts him a century later; and he also shows how the learned Dahl shared the views, given above, of M. Syromyatnikoff, which, however, Bretschneider himself disapproved, as I have already stated. I would venture to suggest that "the inhabitants of the river *Niemen*" may possibly have led to a *jeu-de-mots*, or a slang "compromise" with the semi-opprobrious word "dumb fellows," *barbaroi*, or "furriners"—a shade lower than "foreigners." This matter scarcely touches the present subject of Western Turks, but as the "Mongols" who invaded Russia in 1250, just as the West Turks did in 550, were largely recruited from Ouigour and other Turks, and the whole question is bound up with Marco Polo's travels, I may as well state M. Syromyatnikoff's views for him here, in order that "justice may be done."

## A RECENT TRIP TO THE ANCIENT RUINS OF KAMBOJA.

BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL G. E. GERINI.

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### 1. LEAVE THE NEW FOR THE OLD CAPITAL OF FRENCH INDO-CHINA.

TOWARDS the middle of December, 1902, the weather at Hā-nôi, which had so far been exceedingly pleasant, changed to an uninterrupted series of rainy and foggy days of winter-like aspect, which betokened the reverse of pleasure for any intended trip in the country. The result was that I had to give up, with the greatest regret, the long-cherished project of visiting the homes of several native tribes, and seeing a few places of historical interest on the Lower Black River. Bad weather continuing, I was compelled, with several colleagues of the Hā-nôi Oriental Congress, to abandon as well a contemplated excursion to the famous Hā-lông Bay, as the thick mist and continuous rain would make it about as picturesque and poetical as a duck-pond. This altered our plans so far as Tonkin was concerned, and determined us to seek for fresh fields and pastures new in more congenial climes. A tour to the famed ancient ruins of Kamboja, which had been talked of for some days previously, was then immediately decided upon.

Early on the morning of December 19 we were off by rail, bound for Hāi-p'hōng, the present-day seaport of Hā-nôi; and after spending a pleasant afternoon there, visiting several friends and seeing the few sights of the brand-new town, dating from 1885, which has sprung up through French enterprise out of the marshes surrounding the old French concession, we found ourselves comfortably installed on board the *Gironde*, of the Messageries Maritimes, and steamed out of harbour next morning at daybreak. The

north-east monsoon, blowing in full force, and with its accompaniment of mists and choppy seas, quickened our passage to Turān (Tourane), whose splendid land-locked harbour we entered on the 21st. Here we were joined by other colleagues of the Congress of Orientalists of Hā-nôi, who had preceded us in order to visit the city of Hwē, the last Annamese capital, in that neighbourhood, and had just returned full of interesting, though not exactly wonderful, tales about its temples, palaces, and tombs. The dummy Emperor, still holding a semblance of a court and sovereign authority, was, however, absent at Hā-nôi, where we had a few days before caught a momentary glimpse of his juvenile but tame and almost effeminate features, at a soirée given by the ever-courteous Governor-General.

Thanks to the novel addition just received, our party now numbered some eight members of various nationalities, but all, alas! of the *sesso forte*, and mostly confirmed bachelors in the bargain. None of the fair sex who had figured so conspicuously at the Congress, and had taken so active a part in both its sittings and excursions, graced our path to the Khmēr ruins: all had departed and dispersed; but we were not to be altogether disappointed, as will appear from the sequel.

On the 22nd Kwī-ñôn (Quinhon) was reached, when better weather set in, and, after calling at P'han-rang Bay, we found ourselves back at Saigon on the 23rd, greeted by a cloudless sky and a not too fiery tropical sun.

## 2. SAIGON TO MYTHO.

On disembarking arrangements were at once made for our river trip into the heart of Kamboja. The *Battambang*, a fine steam-launch of the Messageries Fluviales de Cochinchine, was to leave for P'hnom-p'hēñ that very evening, going round by sea into the Mī-thō (Mytho) branch of the Mē-Không, and being due at Mī-thō early next morning. At P'hnom-p'hēñ we were to tranship into a smaller launch, doing the service from there to Battambang and back.

This was the last trip of the season the small launch would make through the Kambojan lake, the lowness of the water not permitting of any further navigation that way. We were glad to find ourselves just in the nick of time to take advantage of this last opportunity. One or two of our party, who had not yet had enough of the caprices of old Neptune, embarked that same evening by the roundabout route by the sea-coast, and had their enthusiasm somewhat damped by a few drenchings received while rounding that part of the Mě-Khōng delta situated between the southwestern outlet of the Saigon River and the Mī-thō mouths of the Mě-Khōng.

The rest of us, however, preferring to enjoy a peaceful sleep on terra-firma, passed the night tolerably well at Saigon, in one of its far from luxurious hotels (considerably inferior in comfort and appointments to the best ones at Hā-nôi), and took the train next morning for Mī-thō. The scenery on the way is mostly uninteresting, except through the Saigon suburbs, until Chölön is reached. This is a great industrial and commercial centre containing about 70,000 souls, almost entirely Chinese. Although dating from 1780 only, it has long become the chief paddy mart for Lower Cochinchina, as is fully evidenced by its numerous steam rice-mills, whose lofty funnels, slightly hidden by the morning mists, make it appear almost like a city of shabby minarets.

Afterwards the route lies through monotonous plains of paddy-fields, interspersed at intervals with orchards, fruit-gardens, and inundated tracts. The frequent villages passed, however, and the country stations halted at, somewhat relieve the monotony, besides affording an idea of the landscape and giving one an insight into the life of one of the richest districts of Lower Cochinchina.

By 8 a.m. the snug little city of Mī-thō, another important trading centre and mart, was reached, and after a few minutes' ride in one of the fairly tidy local rikishas, we found ourselves on the river bank, the eastern branch of the Mě-Khōng, where the *Battambang* had arrived shortly



before, and was puffing impatiently, ready to resume her journey. We therefore started immediately, heading up river.

### 3. MYTHO TO P'HNOM-P'HĒÑ.

The scenery going up the Më-Không is so uniform and so little redolent of interest as to need but little description. At first a succession of long islands, little different from one another, is passed, until an enormous one is reached, a Mesopotamia of no less than 100 miles in length, dividing the anterior or eastern branch of the Më-Không from the western one up to their upper junction at P'hnom-p'hēñ. The country is flat and open as far as the eye can reach on either side, and calls for few remarks, except that of its wearying monotony of muddy waters, miry swamps, and the sombre green of the low tropical jungle and weedy undergrowth. Innumerable creeks branch off from both sides of the majestic river, meandering out of sight into the mysterious recesses of the interminable plain. Villages are by no means frequent on the banks, as these, being exposed to the violence of the flood and corroded by the impetus of the current, would not be safe. Hence most inhabited centres lie hidden a short distance up the creeks, and are seldom to be seen from the river. An exception occurs at Viñ-lông (Vinh-long), where the mansion of the French Resident has been built near the river bank, to which access is had by a wharf leading to a fine avenue of peacock-flower trees (*Poinciana pulcherrima*). But the preference here given to the treacherous river stream, instead of the creek immediately adjoining, proved an unfortunate selection; for the voracious current at once began to gnaw at the river bank, and soon undermined the wharf, carrying away a good deal of the embankment, thus alarmingly reducing the distance between itself and the Resident's domicile to a perilous minimum, foreboding the engulfing, at no distant date, of that comfortable-looking structure. Viñ-lông is the historic continuation of the ancient Khmër *Long Hôr*, a name tra-

ditionally connected with the legend of an astrologer's shipwreck there.\* But it is now, like the rest of the delta, entirely Annamese in population, having passed from Khmër into Annamese hands so long ago as 1689, and it was only in 1862 that the territory was ceded to France.

After spending a pleasant night on board the comfortable launch, under way all the while, P'hnom-p'hēñ was reached at daybreak on December 25. The steamer moors right opposite the not unimposing building of the Grand Hôtel, situated a short distance away from the steep and high (at this season) bank of the river. On disembarking we entered the hotel, where comfortable rooms had been bespoken by telegraph for the whole of us. It turned out to be a well-appointed hotel, far more than one would expect in such an out-of-the-way place, especially after the not very edifying experience, in so far as lodgings are concerned, we had had at Saigon. But even in the most remote French settlements suitable provision is usually made for the material side of human nature, no less than for the intellectual and spiritual—as much as local circumstances will allow.

Arrangements were at once begun for the projected excursion, and we were glad to find that the proprietor of the hotel, accustomed to such business, was willing to take charge, on fairly reasonable terms, of all the catering for our party from the moment of our leaving the steamer at the lake border for the trip to the Angkor ruins and back again. A bargain was struck *ipso facto*, and we were thus very pleased to have been saved much trouble. The whole day was therefore at our disposal wherewith to visit the city and its "lions," as the launch bound for the lake was not to start until the next morning. A pleasant and not altogether uneventful day was accordingly spent in the Kambojan capital.

\* See Aymonier's "Textes Khmers," p. 40, for the Khmër version, and part i., p. 11, for a summary translation of it.

## 4. P'HNOM-P'HĒÑ, THE PRESENT KAMBOJAN CAPITAL.

To one accustomed to the gorgeous magnificence and finery of royal palaces and Buddhist temples in the modern capital of Siām, P'hnom-p'hĕñ does not, indeed, present anything really characteristic or peculiarly striking. Royal mansions and temples there are even far less imposing and less rich than those to be seen in a country town or princely residence of either Siām or Burmā. Before the advent of the French, P'hnom-p'hĕñ was a mere village, rising in the midst of unhealthy marshes. On the other hand, it is gratifying to notice the marked improvements introduced through the influence of the foreign protectors—in truth, *de facto* masters—of the country—*i.e.*, the French—who have since 1863 established themselves there, at first as mere would-be platonic patrons, but who have for the last twenty years held full sway. These improvements, begun in 1891, which marks the real birth-date of the new town, are at once apparent in the shape of roads, bridges, water-supply, and public buildings. Some of the structures, indeed, are of either doubtful or hybrid architecture, such as the unjustly famous Nāga bridge, a droll imitation of old Kambojan works of art, and still more so that æsthetical abomination, the bridge leading to the market, which introduces a ludicrous feature into the dull tameness of the scenery.

On the whole, if one notices with unstinted satisfaction some of these useful improvements, he feels, on the other hand, no less taken aback by the absence of that local colour he hoped to find, the last traces of which are, alas! fast vanishing from the place; for P'hnom-p'hĕñ is not only fast becoming—like the most far and out-of-the-way places are nowadays all over Indo-China—Europeanized, but has long been Annamized and Sinicized in the bargain. Chinese and Annamese do, in fact, wellnigh outnumber the Khmĕr population, and, outside the quarter of the city occupied by the princely residences, the number of Khmĕrs one meets

are fewer, in proportion, than the rest of Asiatics of multifarious nationalities.\* The shops are mostly kept by Chinese and Annamese, and the few industries there are and nearly the whole bulk of the trade are carried on by them. The Khmërs seem to rest content with self-destruction, and to ask for nothing more than to be left alone in the background. They are now confined to the more segregated parts of the country, away from the highways and turmoil of business, where they occupy themselves chiefly in elementary pursuits, such as paddy-field cultivation and the collection of forest produce, in which last task, however, the largest share is taken by the numerous semi-wild tribes of the woods. In the near future the Khmërs proper seem destined to disappear, and to become, like the dodo, extinct.

The invading wave of Annamese immigration, set in motion at first under the colour of disinterested assistance in repulsing the Siāmeses from the country during the last quarter of the fourteenth century, and reinvigorated in the sequel by force of arms during the course of frequent incursions, is ever advancing higher and higher up the Mě-Không Valley in the novel character of a pacific conquest achieved solely by thrift, industry, and perseverance. It has now reached to the very heart of Kamboja, and is fast enclosing the Great Lake within its folds. From that expanse of water to the sea the country on either bank of the great river looks more like a strip of Annamese territory than anything else. Nearly all trade, fishing, and boating is done by Annamese; the villages one sees while passing to and fro are almost entirely Annamese settlements. In order to discover the real and genuine Khmër, the degenerate heir of so much past grandeur, one has to throw his searchlight of X rays into the heart of the country, at some distance away from the river and its principal

\* The figures of the 1901 Census are, for P'hnom-p'hēñ City, 26,572 inhabitants, of which only 15,680 are Khmërs, and these are, for the most part, of very mixed blood.

branches, and far up inland from the delta, which is purely Annamese.

P'hnom-p'hēñ, though, from its strategic position at the junction of four branches of the river, an undoubtedly very ancient settlement, has been but at rare and short intervals the capital of Kamboja. It has now continued in this capacity since 1866, when the seat of power was transferred thither from Udong (1619-1866) by the present reigning King, Norodom, who ascended the throne at the last-named city in 1860. It is but little known, and accordingly not mentioned in any of the many guide-books on Kamboja, that P'hnom-p'hēñ was, after the first fall of Angkor Thom, made the capital by the famous King Paksī Cham-krong (*circa* 1220-1250). It remained such until 1329, when, a cucumber gatherer having been made King—as in Baron Munchausen's "Travels," chap. i.—he re-established the royal residence at Angkor Thom. However, in 1388, the King, then reigning at Pā-sān (Basan), removed to P'hnom-p'hēñ, which thus again became the capital, but for another ephemeral period, ending about 1433-1437. It was then known by the name of *P'hnom-p'hēñ Chaturmukh Charāb C'hīem*.

On the Chinese map of about 1399, published by Phillips in the *Journal China Branch R. A. S.*, vol. xxi., 1886, I find it duly marked at the quadruple junction, and on the right or western bank of the river—the same position as the city occupies at the present day—as 竹里木, *Chu-li-mu* (*Chuk-lei-muk*, in Southern dialectal pronunciation): This toponymic, not identified by Phillips,\* nor by anyone else since, that I am aware of, is, it will readily be seen, meant for *Chaturmukh*, a mere corruption of the Sanskrit name the city bore, *Chatermukha*—i.e., the "Four Faces (or Fronts)," in allusion to the four branches of the river meeting here, an expression rendered by the French as *Quatre-bras*. In A.D. 1594 we find the same name

\* See *op. cit.*, p. 40, No. 471.

under the Portuguese form of *Chordemuco* in De Morga's "Philippine Islands,"\* and a year later than that it occurs as *Muang Chaturamukh* in the Siamese "Annals of Aynthia," p. 181. The vulgar Khmër form is *Cho-do-mukh*.

A multiple fluvial junction like the one existing at P'hnom-p'hēñ could not but attract the pious attention of a people accustomed from the influence of Indū tenets and traditions to regard as of peculiar sanctity even a far less complicated *sangama* or confluence of rivers, and to raise votive cairns at such hallowed spots. Hence some lithic monument doubtless soon arose on the site of the junction, which, at a less remote period, when Buddhism became the predominant religion of the country, was replaced by, or enlarged into, an artificial mound surmounted by a Buddhist sanctuary. This is what has since become known as the *P'hnom* ("Hillock"), or, more specifically, the *P'hnom P'hēñ* ("Full Mountain," or "Hill"), from which the city is vulgarly designated. The name has been corrupted by the Annameese into *Nam Vang*, 南榮 (Cant.,

*Nam-wing*), pronounced *Nam-vyāng* by their kinsmen of Lower Cochinchina. There can thus be no doubt that the term *P'hnom-p'hēñ* is coeval with the establishment of the hillock. Local legend brings—*more solito*—this event back to the time of Buddha, although Moura asserts,† on the very shaky authority of a document shown him by a Buddhist monk, that the sanctuary, at any rate, was originally erected in 1529 B.E. (= A.D. 986), by an opulent widow named Yēai P'hēñ (Lady Bēñ), in expiation of sins perpetrated by her husband. But such precise dates in not well authenticated native documents should be taken *cum grano salis*. The legend is, very probably, all moon-

\* Hakluyt Society, 1868, p. 43. The translator most misleadingly explains in a note at the foot of the same page: "Cho-da-mukha, in Siamese the place of meeting of the chief mandarins—i.e., the capital."

† "Cambodge," Paris, 1883, vol. i., p. 247.

shine, and as to the date of the foundation of the Buddhist shrine, it should perhaps be put down to, at least, the twelfth century. It is, nevertheless, quite possible—nay, almost certain—that some earlier monument, if not the *P'hnom* itself, existed on the same spot, and thus the native name *P'hnom P'hēñ*—for the locality has a good chance of proving almost as high an antiquity as the Sanskrit—derived the alternative appellation *Chaturmukh*.

Be that as it may, the shrine actually crowning the top of the famous hillock, which is, by the way, 27 metres high, is far from being the original one. It is recorded that the sanctuary was rebuilt in A.D. 1806 by King Ong Chandr. The structure having been destroyed by fire in 1881, a new one was erected by the present King, which was inaugurated with much ceremony and merry-making on February 17, 1894. This consists of a group of three buildings comprising a Buddhist *vihāra*, or idol-house, on the top of the hill, with a little shrine by its side dedicated to the genius loci, and a *chaitya* or spire, 32 metres in height, culminating in the rear. Several flights of stone steps lead up to the esplanade on the summit of the hill, where rise the structures just referred to. The railings on both sides of the staircase are surmounted by two *nāgas* in plaster, each with seven heads, erected after the model of ancient Khmēr bridges and staircases. On either side of the gate, giving access to the esplanade above, are two statues, likewise in plaster, of *P'hrea Eisô* (Siva), according to the local notion each holding a club, grimly greet the visitor. All around one notices an array of figures of lions, of *Narasimhas* (here curiously called instead *Garudas*, of *Yakṣas*), and of mouldings representing scenes from the life of Buddha, clumsily reproduced from similar bas-reliefs on old Khmēr monuments.

On the whole, everything is but a tawdry imitation of classical Khmēr models, and proves interesting only in so far as it reveals the decadence of modern native art placed in contrast with that practised during the halcyon

days of the country, and the degenerate taste of its modern inhabitants, delighting in plaster mouldings and whitewash, with smears of gaudy red and gold (when it is not mere tinsel), in preference to the solid and exquisite artistic work in stone, which showed the taste of their ancestors.

The visitor is, on the other hand, rewarded for his ascent to the top of the hillock by a fine view all over the town and surrounding country, with its quadripartite river stately throwing out its winding branches, like the tentacles of a polypus, glittering in the rays of a scorching sun, piercing through the pigmy green shady groves and thickets of the neighbourhood. And, though sorely disappointing to the hypercritical connoisseur who examines it in detail at close quarters, viewed from the river or from a certain distance, the hillock and its structures, as a whole, are not devoid of a certain grace, and naïveté; so that, despite its crudeness of detail, one almost shudders to think what would become of P'hnom-p'hēñ without its characteristic P'hnom, with which it is so indissolubly identified; and certainly no native could imagine or even dream of the one without the other. At the foot of the hillock a few acres of land have been converted into a public garden, with a relative zoological menagerie, containing some interesting specimens of the Kambojan forest fauna.

After the indispensable visit to the P'hnom, a brief stroll through the city brought us to the Buddhist monastery called *Wat Unalom*, a name barbarously translated in local French parlance into *Olalom*, and often written *D'Ollalom* in the elaborate descriptions of globe-trotters. It is so called because in a little shrine at the back of the temple, it is said, was once preserved the central part of the frontal bone containing the *unnā* or *urna* (spirally-twisted hair between the eyebrows) of Buddha. In this monastery resides the *Somduitch P'hrāḥ Sang Kheretch* (*Sangharaja*), or chief of the *Mahanikaya* branch of the Buddhist Church in Kamboja, proudly termed "*le Pape*"! by native interpreters.



Thence an adjournment was made to *Wat Botum-vodei*, another monastery, so designated because in front there is a lotus-pond or *saras*. The name is the local corrupted form of the Pāli *Padumavatī* (Sanskrit *Padmavatī*). Between the temple and the pond flourishes a Bo-tree, grown up from a twig brought here from Ceylon. Formerly this was the royal temple, and members of the Royal Family were there inducted into holy orders. Its place is, however, now taken by *Wat P'hreaḥ Kēu*, which has but recently been erected within the precincts of the royal palace. *Wat Botum-vodei* is inhabited by monks of the *Dhammayuttika* or Orthodox School,\* and by its chief, the P'hreaḥ Sugandh. It was the residence of the late Somdaitch P'hreaḥ Sobhon, a high dignitary of the Church, famed for his canonical learning.

I soon had a practical illustration of the decline of scholarship among the Khmēr clergy. Knowing by long experience that the best method of quickly getting into the good graces of native monks and easily gaining

\* This was founded by the illustrious father (Mahā Mongkut) of the present Sovereign of Siām in 1825, whilst in the priesthood, previous to his becoming King. Some of the tenets of this enlightened school, which strictly adheres to the original canons, and accordingly observes a far sterner discipline than the traditional, or rather vulgar, old one, have been set forth by my esteemed friend, the late Henry Alabaster, in his clever little book, entitled "The Modern Buddhist" (London: Trübner and Co., 1870). The school is patronized both by royalty and the aristocracy, and counts amongst its members in Siām the most learned members of both the laity and clergy. It was, I believe, the present King Norodom himself—who, while still a Prince, inducted into the Holy Orders at a Buddhist monastery of the Orthodox congregation in Bāng-kōk—who introduced the new school into Kamboja when called there to the throne in 1860. Hence the school counts the Kambojan Royal Family amongst its votaries, although it has, irrespective of that, fewer adherents than in Siām, where, nevertheless, the *Mahānikāya*, or Old Buddhist Congregation, is still the most numerous. With the exception of Mr. H. Alabaster, all authors of books on Siām and Kamboja, and even on the Buddhism there, have so far completely ignored the existence of these two schools, and the highly important intellectual movement brought about by the institution of the new one, which is now the seat of canonical learning, Pāli scholarship, and pure religious discipline.

their confidence and esteem is to show them that one possesses at least the rudiments of the sacred language and Buddhistic lore, I thought it a good thing to address in Pāli the elder of a group of monks staring at us close by within the precincts of the monastery, with a view of learning the real origin of the name of the building, and a few details regarding its history. I began by putting a very simple question: "*Bhantē ayya! Mayham anukampaya tumhakam aramassa sacca namam kathēhi?*" ("Would you kindly tell me, venerable sir, what is the real name of this monastery of yours?") The only effect that my address made on the yellow-robed company was causing them to stare at me even more stupidly, if not wistfully, and motionless, as if spellbound. I repeated the question, but got no answer. Thinking then it was not quite plain, I climbed down the little ladder of Pāli lore I had perched upon, and put the question in such a simple way that a mere schoolboy, who had gone through the very first pages of *Kaccayana*, could have understood it: "*Bhantē thēra, kim namo ayam aramo?*" "*Bhantē, tumhakam aramo kim namo?*" Still not the least sign of an answer. Presuming, then, that I was in the presence of a Davus instead of an Œdipus, I asked as a last resort: "*Magadhibhasaya vacanum maya vuttam na janasi?*" "*Tumhē Pali bhasam janatha?*" ("Don't you understand the Pāli words I have spoken?" "Do you know Pāli?") A reply was given at last, but it was in Khmēr. The old crone humbly acknowledged that, although he had clearly understood what I had said, he was unable to answer me in Pāli; but should I have the kindness of calling again, when the High Priest was in, that personage would be able to satisfy me. I declined with thanks, and departed. This gloomy veil of ignorance of the sacred language and of the holy texts which is thus quietly settling over Kamboja is deplorably ominous, and every effort should be made to dispel it by instituting Pāli schools and corresponding examinations, after the system

that has long been in favour in both Siām and Burmā. Such examinations were doubtless introduced into Kamboja by the Siānese while the country still acknowledged their rule, but they do not now seem to exist—except, perhaps, in name; hence the crass ignorance of the clergy.

The question is of far more importance than it would appear to the uninitiated, for it is not only a religious, but a laical one. Indo-Chinese languages, especially Siānese, Khmēr, Mōñ (Paguan or Talaing), Burmese, etc., are so indissolubly bound up with Pāli—and to a certain extent with its sister tongue, Sanskrit—which constitute over one-third of their vocabularies, that no literary proficiency in these languages can be attained unless accompanied by some fair knowledge of either of the two classical tongues of India. And it is this lack of knowledge which has hitherto so perilously marred the usefulness of grammars and dictionaries, whether of Siānese, Khmēr, Burmese, Mōñ, and even Tibetan, mostly compiled by missionaries or other well-meaning persons, who, unfortunately, have neglected—through an ignorance or misunderstanding of their actual bearings—to acquire the rudiments of those classical tongues. I trust this question of the great importance of the study of Pāli will receive the consideration it deserves from the authorities responsible for the future guidance of Kamboja in the paths of culture and refinement, and that some special school will soon be established at P'hnom-p'hēñ where the clergy, as well as lay students aspiring to literary proficiency, will be enabled to obtain a fair knowledge of Pāli, besides, possibly, Khmēr and French in their higher developments. The course here sketched out has already been adopted with marked success in Burmā, where the Pāli examinations which existed under native rule were very wisely re-established by the British Government in 1895, throwing them open not only to laymen, but to laywomen as well. No less than 400 candidates of both sexes presented themselves at the last examinations, held in 1903.

I shall waste neither time nor space upon descriptions of the so-called royal "palace," which is merely a group of wretched structures, or of the royal temple of Wat P'hreaḥ Këu, which had just reached completion at the time of my visit, and has since been inaugurated with elaborate ceremonies, religious and otherwise, and rejoicings, lasting from February 2 to 5, 1903. The temple is but an inferior imitation, in its disposition and some of its arrangements, of the Siāinese Wat P'hraḥ Këu, rearing its glittering gilt spires within the precincts of the royal palace at Bāngkōk. The shrine situated in the centre presents the most clumsy combination imaginable of European and native fantastic styles, and is a fair example of tasteless money-squandering in the struggle after gaudiness and all but artistic effect. The *clou* of the whole show is, however, constituted by the equestrian statue of the opium-fuddled King, Norodom, in the panoply of a Field-Marshal of the second French Empire—an old gift to the sluggish Kambojan potentate by the third Napoleon—rising in grotesque heroicalness on the inner courtyard of the temple. The porch running round the same courtyard has been, in apelike imitation of the Bāngkōk model, painted with scenes from the Rāmāyana, a very third-rate exhibition of decadent native art.

More curious for the average tourist is the *Damrei-sō*, or "White Elephant," kept in a miserable hovel of a stable in front of the royal palace. It was sent some three years ago from Lāos by Colonel Tournier, and is now about eight years old.

I have now about exhausted the list of the "lions" of the Kambojan capital. To it the tourist of some distinction is usually able to add the privilege of an audience from King Norodom, terminating as a rule with a theatrical performance (*lakhōn*) by his *corps de ballet*. Such diversions would have been added to our programme but for the fact that the old potentate was indisposed at the time of our

visit, so arrangements were made for a postponement of the treat until the return of our party from Angkor.

I may add that a profitable visit may be made to the native jeweller and Chinese knick-knack shops lining the street leading to the royal palace, where some interesting curios of native make may be purchased. Not altogether despicable castings in bronze, of local workmanship, are sometimes hawked about for sale, which generally consist of figures of deities of the Brahmano-Buddhist pantheon, and representations of scenes from local mythology and legend. The day's task is usually wound up with the customary *tour d'inspection*, consisting in a drive round the city through the shady alleys that, when completed, will almost entirely encircle it, thus affording a healthy breath of fresh air after the toil of a hot day's work.

##### 5. ON THE WAY TO THE LAKE.

Early next morning, December 26, our party proceeded up the river towards the Great Lake on the *Bassac*, a fine launch of the Messageries Fluviales, bound for Battambōng. The pseudo-branch of the Mě-Khōng, up which we travelled, is in reality the offshoot of the Great Lake during the falling waters of the annual inundation, and a channel of escape—a safety valve, in fact, for discharging the surplus flow of the Mě-Khōng during the high-water season. It is termed the *P'hrēk Lawēk*, or "Lawēk branch," from the fact of the old capital, *Lawēk*, being situated within proximity of its right bank, and has a length of some eighty miles. The waters of the river were now quite low, the banks remaining dry for a height of 12 to 13 feet. The vegetation lining them is rather dwarf. On the other hand, dwellings are frequent, and villages, both Malay and Annamese, are passed in succession on either bank, the left being formed at first by the extensive island of Chrūoi Changwā.

In a little more than an hour we moored abreast of *Piñā-lu* (Pinhalu), a settlement of native Christians founded in 1692

by D'Acosta, a former Vicar-General of Malacca, who, after the Dutch conquest of that town, had taken refuge in Kamboja. The name *Piñā-lū* is commonly interpreted, on the mere score of vernacular erudition, the "*P'hyā* (or Lord, King) hears"; but it is probable that the true etymology has been lost.

Kompong Lūang (Royal Bank, or Quay) was next reached, an important village on the right (western) bank, which is the landing-place whence one proceeds to Udong, the former capital of Kamboja (1619-1866). A road some four miles in length, supported by walls of masonry and planted with trees, made in 1849 by King Ong Duang, leads thence to the now ruined capital, the mounds of which are seen in the distance, half hidden among the luxuriant jungle. Its official name was Udong-mīen-c'hai (*Uttam-mān-jay*), the "Supremely Victorious," though often given, especially in Siāmes records, as *Udong-lū-c'hai*. It figures in Chinese notices of the seventeenth century and after as *Tung-p'u-chai*, 東步甫寨 (Cant., Tung-pou-ch'ai), although it has been suggested, not without reason, that the first character may be a faulty clerical error for

東

*Chien* (Cant., *Kan*), in which case the whole would read *Kan-p'u-ch'ai*, and mean Kamboja (*Kambuja* or *Kambujaya*?). This ingenious conjecture, however, does not as yet fully convince me, despite the fact that the form *Tung-p'u-chai* already appears in the "Tung-hsi-yang-k'ao" cyclopædia which was published in 1618, *i.e.*, one year before the establishment of the Kambojan capital at Udong. My contention is that the name may have existed for the spot sometime prior to the removal of the capital thereto; or else that the date of such an event as given in the Khmër chronicles is, as not unfrequently occurs, out by several years.

In about another hour the Malay village called *Lawëk* (Lovek), also situated on the right bank, was passed. Malays,

locally known as *C'hvea* (= Javā), were already taking a prominent part in Kambojan affairs in the seventeenth century. Marini\* speaks of the *Malai*, called from the neighbouring kingdom (Champā; hence they were very probably Chāms, or, at any rate, mixed with Chām Muhammedans) by the usurper Nak Chan, who reigned from 1641 to 1658, to his assistance in governing the country, with the result that he himself, through their influence, embraced Islāmism. Although termed *Javā*, these Malays are not from Java Proper, but from Java Minor—*i.e.*, Sumatra.

The ruins of Old Lawëk lie about five miles further back from the river, and at an equal distance from Udong. The capital was removed thereto from Babôr in 1528, and remained there until 1619. The King of Kamboja was, during that interval, styled *P'hraya Lawëk*—*i.e.*, the "Lord (or King) of Lawëk"—in the Siāmesse annals of Ayuthia. The city had earthen ramparts faced on the outside with stone walls, and boasted of a fine Buddhist temple, *Wat Tralëng-këng* (the "Four-faced" or "Four-fronted"), of which the dilapidated débris still exist. It was built by King Ong Chan (*Anga Chandra*, sometimes called *Chandra-rama*) shortly after 1528. It is no doubt these and similar ruins that are alluded to by Marini when he says: † "Three hundred miles inland from the mouth [of the Më-Không River] one reaches the landing in the middle of the city itself.‡ Near the city one sees ruins of big walls and many houses, for a long stretch, of built-up stone, whereas it is now customary to make them of wood and thatch."§

\* "Delle Missioni," etc., Rome, 1663, pp. 390, 391.

† *Op. cit.*, p. 389.

‡ This can hardly refer to Kompong Lūang, the landing-place for Udong (the then capital from 1619), but to some creek connecting the city with the river at or near that point. A little water-course enabled boats to reach the walls of Lawëk during the high-water season, but this can hardly be meant here.

§ The text of which the above is a translation reads: ". . . entro a terra 300 miglia distante dalla foce, . . . si gionge a fare scala in mezzo alla stessa città. . . . Vicino alla città si veggono ruine di grosse mura, e molte case per lungo spatio di pietra murata, costumando essi hora di farle di legname, e di paglia."

*Lawëk*, or *Longwëk*, locally better known as *Lovëk*, may be, as doubtfully suggested by Aymonier,\* the ancient *Dviradapura* city of a Sanskrit inscription of *circa* A.D. 950, said to come from there, standing in *Dvirada-desa*, the "Region of Elephants." Capital of Kamboja after Angkor and Babôr, Lawëk was taken and destroyed by the gallant Siāmesese King Narēs in 1596.† Two famous statues, the *P'hrah Këu* and the *P'hrah Khô* (the sacred bull), are said to have been removed by the Siāmesese at that time. Previous to that it had sustained two sieges by Siāmesese armies—one in 1545, which was raised owing to the Kambojan King making his submission and agreeing to continue, as of yore, tributary to Siām; and the other in 1594 by the same King, Narēs, which had to be given up at the end of three months in March of that year, owing to the scarcity of victuals in the besieging camp.

Kompong Trailāik (Tralach) was next passed, an important village, supported especially by its trade in firewood; and a little further on, the hamlet of Kompong Tēchī (Tachés), which devotes its energies mostly to boat-building—they are both on the western bank of the river. Here the river banks begin to get low, dwindling down to a little more than 7 or 8 feet in height. The vegetation becomes very scarce; only a few isolated trees are seen: the rest is an immense barren plain.

Shortly afterwards our steamer entered the creek nicknamed by the French "Arroyo des Singes," from its being

\* "Cambodge," t. i., Paris, 1900, p. 217.

† According to a modern inscription at Wat Anlok, alluded to in Aymonier's "Cambodge," t. i., p. 196, Lawëk would have been taken by King Narēs of Siām in B.E. 2129, 4 months, 4 days, or C.E. 949, year of the Hog = A.D. 1587. The Khmër chronicles put the event in 1593, and the annals of Ayuthia in April, 1587. None of these dates is, however, to be relied upon; not even that of the epigraphic monument above referred to, which was erected considerably after the event, and is therefore liable to error in computation. My rectification of the chronology set forth in Siāmesese records of the Ayuthia period, based on the comparison of multifarious sources of information, leads me to 1596, which I have no doubt is the correct date, and I may confidently recommend it as such.



frequented by these quadrumana, some of which are tall, black, and have white beards. The native name for the creek is, however, *Prêk Sala*. The steamers prefer to follow this canal, which is only from 30 to 40 yards wide in many places, rather than the main channel of the river, which flows further to the east, and is separated from it by a large island.

At 3 p.m. we debouched from the "Arroyo des Singes" into one of the principal channels into which the river is here divided by an almost uninterrupted series of islands. In a little more than half an hour we halted at Kompong C'hnang, or "Pots Quay," so called from the earthen pots manufactured in large quantities in the vicinity. It is an important centre, and the seat of a French Resident. It dates back many centuries, and very probably is the place

referred to as *Ch'a-nan*, 查南 (Cha-nam, Cha-nang,

Sat-nam) in the Chinese story of the 1296-1297 embassy to Kamboja. This Ch'a-nan is therein said to be one of the districts of Kamboja, situated at fifteen days' sail, with a favourable current [*i.e.*, the tide which even at present reaches, at low-water season, not far below the lake], from the mouth of the river. Here transhipment is effected into smaller vessels, by means of which the landing-place at 50 *li* from the capital may be reached. The course lies past

the two villages of *Pan-lu Ts'un*, 半路村 (*lit.*, "Half-way Village," but more likely the transliteration of a native name sounding somewhat like *Banlu* or *Bamru*: Babôr may be meant, or some neighbouring hamlet), and *Fo Ts'un*,

佛木村 (*lit.*, "Buddha," or "Bodhi Village"; to my

belief Bodhisat, *vulgo* Pursat, despite the anachronistical objections, which will be stated anon). Thence the *Tan-*

*yang*, 淡洋, or "Fresh-water Sea" (*i.e.*, the Great Lake), is crossed, and landing effected at *Kan-pang*,

𠂇𠂇 (Kon-pong, Kan-bang), or Ch'ien-pang, 𠂇𠂇

(Ts'ien-pong, Ch'ieng-p'aung, Ch'en-bang), at 50 *li* (about ten miles) from the capital as aforesaid.\* This is very likely the present village of Kompong Chong-khnies at the mouth of the Siemrāb (or Angkor) River.

The prawns of *Ch'a-nan*, adds the same author, weigh a Chinese pound ( $1\frac{1}{3}$  lb.) and more.†

The village consists for the most part of floating houses, although dwellings on shore are numerous, and is situated at the head of an indentation on the western bank of the river. Near the market rises a hillock crowned by a modern pagoda, *Wat Thmoh Kēu*, or "Temple of the Precious Stone," built in the form of a Greek cross and enriched with gilt spires. The name is very likely derived from some idol carved out of a block of the *Thmoh Kēu*, or "Crystal Stone," extracted from the hills near Pursat, which is a kind of soft alabaster with green and violet veins. At some distance, on both banks of the river, rise several groups of green-clad hills. Those on the east are called *P'hnom Nāng Kongrei* (Nāng Kangrī, or "Dame Kanhā Hills"), from a well-known legend considerably widespread in Indo-Chinese folklore. Corrupt pronunciations are *N. Damrei*, "she-elephant," and *N. Tangei*. The hill ranges on the west are those rising behind Babôr.

After these high grounds are left behind the landscape assumes a flat and monotonous appearance, only occasionally relieved by patches of jungle. Innumerable channels branch off on every side and intertwine themselves in Dedalic wise round the many low-lying islands with which the river is interspersed at this point; hence this tract of fluvial navigation is aptly termed "the Labyrinth."

\* See Rémusat's translation in "Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques," t. i., pp. 101-104; and the improved translation recently published by Professor Pelliot in the *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, t. ii., 1902, pp. 138, 139. The identifications suggested above for the *P'an-lu*, *Fo*, and *Kan-pang* villages are, however, my own.

† *Bulletin cit.*, p. 170.

At nightfall *C'hnok-trū* was reached, another important and mostly floating village, lying near the entrance to the stream leading to Babôr. This last place, now a miserable hamlet, has seen far better days, it having been, in fact, the capital of Kamboja from 1516 to 1528, prior to the removal of the seat of royalty to Lawëk. It then rejoiced in the high-sounding name of *Amarāvatī Randapurī*, which I find recorded in the Khmër chronicle preserved in Siām.\* The King had fortified himself there at the camp of *Banthēai Mēan-c'hei*, the "victorious citadel." The town has since become known as *Boribūrṇ* (Paripūrṇa), whence, by corruption, *Bābôr* (pronounced *Bābô*). In 1596 it was taken by King Narēsṛ of Siām, preparatory to his advance upon Lawëk.

It was dark when we left *C'hnok-trū*, which not only Frenchmen but also educated natives call *Shnok-trū*, as they pronounce *Shnang* the second part of the name of Kompong C'hnang. I remonstrated with the interpreter, whom some members of our party had taken with them, for this profane tampering and shuffling with the pronunciation of local toponymies, and asked him why he did not utter the sounds as they occurred in his mother-tongue. "It would be no use," he said, "as all foreigners and most native townsmen got accustomed to pronounce them that way, and would hear of no other." Such is, in fact, what happens not only in Kamboja, but all over Indo-China. Partly through inability to correctly pronounce the native sounds, but far more through carelessness, the national toponymy of all these countries is gradually getting changed, and will soon have become so altered as to be quite past recognition. The evil is not so serious in Kamboja and Siām, where place-names like those referred

\* Unrecognisably given as *Onorabotey* in Lagrée's translation, revised by Garnier, of the Khmër chronicle published in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1871, p. 348. A few lines further we find *Amraptoron chor* in lieu of the *Amarāvatī randapurī* of the chronicle preserved in Siām. A new, or at least newly revised, translation of the chronicle in question is sadly needed.

to above, and such amenities as *Sayem*, *Běngkōk*, *Pēk-nēm*, etc., can still easily be recognised in speech and the more so in writing, as *Siām*, *Bāngkōk*, *Pāk-nam*, just as *Mawltā* is, amongst us, in *Malta* ; although some natives, either through ignorance or ostentation of transcendental knowledge, pronounce and write them in their new-fangled form in their own peculiar script.\*

But it is in Annam where themischief done on such lines assumes the most threatening aspect, for there, the Chinese and Chinese-derived characters still being in extensive use, the new pronunciation applied by Europeans to toponymies is, by half-ignorant natives, represented by phonograms quite different from those handed down by tradition. And as each phonogram conveys a certain definite meaning, not only the pronunciation, but the signification and history of the place-name is thus falsified, so that in the course of time an entirely spurious toponymy will take the place of the original one. The process is, naturally, carried on *bonà fide* by superficially educated natives. These, accustomed to regard the European as their master and superior in intellectual attainments, believe him also to be infallible in the orthoepy of place-names ; and although accustomed to hear the latter pronounced by their elders and see them spelled in old books in the normal traditional way, by dint of listening to the novel pronunciation ascribed to them by Europeans, they come to the conclusion that these must know better, and that their version must be the right one ; thus, whenever they have to write down those toponyms, they spell them accordingly. Sometimes, again, they do this through mere spirit of apish imitation of the ways and idiosyncrasies—whether good, bad, or indifferent—of the ruling race. While in Tonkin I have heard frequent verbal complaints from sensible French officials and others

\* This is not unfrequently the case—*e.g.*, in Bāngkōk vernacular newspapers, where one will occasionally find *Siām*, *Bāngkōk*, etc., spelled in native characters so as to read *Sayem*, *Bengkōk*, etc., instead of in their correct form.

about this pernicious innovation that is taking place in local toponomy. The question is considerably more far-reaching in its consequences than it may seem to the uninitiated, and steps should be taken, ere it is too late, to put a check on it through the publication of official lists of local place-names, accompanied by a careful transliteration of them in European characters, and authoritatively enjoining on both native and European officials to conform to them in writing, and also, as much as possible, in speech. And in maps, directories, etc., referring to these countries the same rational system should be strictly adhered to. Of course, in the eyes of the average reader, diacritical marks and other conventional signs intended to insure a correct transliteration and pronunciation are, as a rule, peculiarly irritating; but when such vital scientific and historical interests are at stake, as I have briefly explained above, the ocular irritation of highly sensitive people becomes an entirely secondary question. Let such people disregard those marks, and continue to ignore them as they have hitherto done, if they so prefer; but by all means let such marks duly be in evidence in all publications making the slightest pretence to scientific merit or to educational attainment.

Late in the evening a brief halt for the purpose of delivering the mail was made at the mouth of the Pūrsat River. Pūrsat (pronounced *Pūsai*) is the local corruption of the name of *P'hôthisat* (*Bodhisat*), the capital of the Kambojan province bordering upon the western shore of the Great Lake. If the story given in the Khmēr chronicle is true, this name would date only from 1555. It is related therein that in that year King Chan (*Chandra-rāja*) having proceeded to P'hôthisat in order to repel an attack by his elder brother Ong advancing at the head of a Siānese expedition, an old Bo (*Bodhi*) tree that had long been dead put forth shoots and covered itself with foliage, reviving anew. After having made oblations to the wonderful tree, the King waged battle with his brother, whom he defeated

and killed. Under the impression that this victory was achieved through the favour of the Bo-tree, he made magnificent offerings to it, and called it *P'hôthi-mēan-bôn*, the "Meritorious Bo-tree"; and the province became henceforth known by the name of *P'hôthisat* or *Puthisat* (= Skr., *Bodhisatva*; Pāli, *Bodhisatta*).<sup>\*</sup> Soon afterwards the King had a temple erected on the spot, in which he placed two statues of Buddha, cast for the purpose.

What the name of the Bo or *Bodhi* tree has to do with the *Bodhisatva* in the present connection is difficult to see. As I have pointed out, *P'hôthisat* is most likely the *Fo Ts'un*—i.e., the "*Buddha*, or *Bodhi*, village"—mentioned in the Chinese version of the 1296-1297 embassy to Kamboja from which the Great Lake was crossed in order to reach the landing-place at or near the entrance to the Angkor River. Now, the Pūrsat River debouches just at the point where boats coming from down-stream and bound for Siem-rāb usually cross the lake, and its delta, projecting considerably eastwards, gave rise to the narrow neck connecting the upper basin of the lake with its smaller lower portion, called "The Little Lake." The position of the mouth of the Pūrsat River thus quite agrees with the one assigned to the *Fo* village in the version referred to. Besides this agreement topographically we have a surprising coincidence on philological grounds; for *Fo* almost undoubtedly here represents *Bo* or *Bodhi* rather than *Buddha*. Hence it seems reasonable to infer that the name *Bo* or *Bodhi* for a village or district situated in the territory in question already existed at the time of the Chinese embassy, and this is what gave the original name to the province, modified later on into *P'hôthisat*. It would, moreover, not be surprising if the Bo-tree from which the said village derived its name was the identical one that revived so wonderfully in 1555.

From the mouth of the Pūrsat we steamed right across

<sup>\*</sup> This remark is skipped over in the Lagrée-Garnier translation, *Journal Asiatique*, 1871, p. 351.

the middle of the Great Lake in the silent hours of the night. No better time could have been chosen for making this tedious passage, which seems intended to be spent in the arms of Morpheus. And whatever it is possible to see in the dulllest dream is certainly far preferable to the sullen, dreary paludal scenery, of almost Stygian character, which the Great Lake presents. In prehistoric ages it was an arm of the sea, still accessible to sea-going vessels in the early days of Kambojan grandeur, but now reduced to little more than a muddy marsh of ever-dwindling size, which, though experiencing considerable rises during the high-water season, when it doubles its area and depth, is inevitably doomed to disappear at no very distant period. It is now called *Donlī-sāb* locally, and *Tonlī-sāb* down at P'hnom-p'hēñ, both which expressions mean "Fresh-water River (or Lake)." In *Donlī* or *Tonlī* here we have one of those terms that can be traced from Indo-China all the way to Central Asia—their probable original home—and thence to the borders of Europe itself. Siamese: *Thalē* (*Dalē*) = "sea," "lake"; *Thölin* = "lake" in Kitan and "sea" in Nü-chên; *me-derin* = "sea" in Manchu; *talui*, *talai* = "sea" in Turkish; *darya* = "sea," "river," in Persian; *θάλασσα* = "sea" in Greek, and so forth. An almost universal word, *Donlī-sāb* is, however, but a generic designation applied to any fresh-water lake. The proper, and withal classical, name, now almost entirely forgotten, by which the great inland lake of Kamboja was known to the natives was, as I found out, "*Rāma Hrada* (or *Rahada*)," the "Lake of Rāma," near the eastern shore of which rose *Indraprastha* (Angkor Thom), the capital of the *Kurus* (*Kui*, *Kvir*, or Old Khmërs). We shall see later on that this is a piece of ancient Indū classical geography adapted from *Kurukṣētra*, the region about the Indū *Indraprastha* (now Delhi); and that this discovery, which is entirely my own, will supply the explanation of several hitherto unfathomed mysteries in Old Khmër history.

6. OVERLAND TO SIEM-RAB.

At daybreak on the morning of December 27 the mouth of the Siem-rāb River was reached. Leaving the steamer in a small boat, we made for the river, the entrance, or *pēam*, to which is known as *Pēam Chong Khnīa* (Khniēs), from a village of the same name (Kōmpong Chong Khnīa) situated a short distance inside the mouth. The stream is an almost insignificant one, the banks and country on both sides being partly submerged, marshy and muddy, and utterly devoid of any patch of solid ground where one could obtain a foothold. The bamboo shanties covered with palm-thatch that line the waterway are all perched high upon piles, like gigantic stilt-birds wading through the brownish mire. We are here, in fact, within the zone of periodical inundations, although the waters had already considerably abated. P'hnom Krôm is the only hill to be seen in the distance. It rises on the left bank, and on its summit are the ruins of a Sivaitic shrine, simple but elegant, belonging to the halcyon days of Kambojan art. It appears that this hill formerly bore the name of *Kailāsa*, adopted from that of the peak on which, according to Indū mythology, is situated the city of Siva, which fact explains the character of the remains. After passing Kompong Ta-wo (or *Ta Wor*), another group of hovels on piles, we reached the place of debarkation at *P'hlan Sēik-sō* (or *Sēk-sō*), "White Parrot Road," at 8 a.m. During high-water boats can proceed up-river to within a couple of miles of Siem-rāb, for this stream flows not only through that town, but also at a short distance to the east of Angkor Wat and of the old capital, Angkor Thom. It rises in the Kulēn ("Wild Litchi") Hills, often mentioned in local ancient inscriptions as *Mahendra Parvata*, or "Mount Mahendra," which formed the original seat of royalty before the old capital was founded. It is therefore a stream worthy of becoming as classical, in native tradition, as the Scarnander, the Eurotas, or the Tiber are in Western legend and history.



It flows, in fact, through the thickest and noblest part of the monuments of the Angkor series. At the present season, however, being at low ebb, it could not be availed of further than our point of debarkation, which, as the crow flies, is some six miles from Siem-rāb. An old causeway leads thence towards the last-named town, and the cart track follows at first this raised ridge, damaged in many places, through the low and nasty jungle, until it debouches in the fertile plain of Siem-rāb. At that stage the trail crosses the paddy-fields, interspersed by smiling groves and groups of dwellings, pleasantly impressing the wayfarer with their unmistakable air of comfort and wealthy surroundings of palm and fruit trees. One experiences a welcome relief at having left behind the dismal swampy country, and finding one's self at last on firm cultivated ground, which rises with a gentle, almost imperceptible, slope as one proceeds. Far ahead looms a dim vision of a verdant fringe of vegetation, above which emerge the feathery tufts of Palmyra and Areca palms, slightly waving under the caresses of the wind. This marks the course of the river Siem-rāb, hidden beneath luxuriant verdure, on the banks of which spreads out, in luxurious Oriental style, the opulent capital of the district.

As, on disembarking, the carts had not yet arrived, a start could not be made until 3.30 p.m., and Siem-rāb was not reached till nightfall. I need not describe the style of travelling in the little bullock carts, here called *kathēh* (often pronounced *katēh* and *atēh*), which may be aptly compared, in so far as bodily experiences are concerned, to that of riding in an automobile driven over the roughest ground by a foolhardy *chauffeur*. As regards the pranks of the shaky wooden structure, and the shrill, grating creaks they unceasingly emit whilst in motion, they decidedly beggar description. For a faint parallel in the whole world's literature I might refer the reader to Cervantes' graphic picture in his "Don Quixote" of the vehicles of Spain, the harsh, uninterrupted creaking of which, as he

wittily puts it, frightened away even "*los lobos y los orsos.*" I have not the slightest doubt that the heart-rending jarring of the buffalo and bullock cart of Siām, Kamboja, and Burmā proves too much even for the ears of leopards and tigers, and is thus the most efficacious spell to frighten them out of one's path. Not that this drawback dismayed me, nor the prospect of the most trying ordeal of having to be jolted about in the roughest manner in those primitive conveyances for the space of three hours, for my experiences of land travelling in similar vehicles in Siām and neighbouring countries, have extended over nearly a quarter of a century, and resulted sometimes in being pitched out into the jungle skirting the road, through the sudden break-down of a wooden axle on one side, and at other times being pitched into the very middle of a dirty, muddy puddle, with the cart on the top of me! But I felt not a little distressed for the fate of those of my companions not yet used to such surprises, more especially for the only lady of our party, whom, I have omitted to mention, had, with her husband, joined us at P'hnom-p'hēñ. However, we had hardly started, each in a separate cart, filing past, one after the other, in a long caravan, when several natives appeared from the opposite direction leading five ponies, which they placed at our disposal. These steeds were being sent to us by the acting Siāinese Commissioner of Siēm-rāb, who, in the temporary absence of the Commissioner, had most kindly hurried them on upon the receipt of a hastily-pencilled note in Siāinese, on a scrap of paper, I had despatched by a special messenger that morning immediately after our landing and on finding that no carts had as yet arrived for us. I need not describe how this unexpected bit of luck pleased us, although only half of our party could be accommodated with mounts. The fortunate ones were thus enabled to ride on in comfort, paladin fashion, towards the cocoanut-trees of Siēm-rāb, which, with their radiating, outspread arms, could, with a little imagination, in the absence of windmills, well pass muster for the innocent

engines charged by the famous knight of La Mancha. The capering bullock carts were relegated to our boys and baggage, and to the less Don Quixotic members of our expedition, who voluntarily, partly with fatalistic resignation, and partly for the sake of the new and sensational, agreed to submit to this form of Ixion-like ordeal. Happily the journey was accomplished without any untoward incident; aching limbs though there were, bones were safe. Accommodation had meanwhile been got ready for us in the *sala* or bungalow serving as a public office for the Commissioner, and occasionally as a rest-house. This is a comfortable wooden building raised on piles, boasting of a spacious veranda in front, also doing duty as a sitting- and, withal, dining-room, and apportioned in the rear into several small rooms separated by partitions.

After a refreshing bath in the crystalline waters of the Scamander, flowing past the front of the compound, and an almost Lucullian dinner, prepared by the pigtailed Vatel sent on to look after our material comfort by the Grand Hôtel Pnom-penh, the rest of the evening was whiled away in listening to a vocal, instrumental, and mimico-comic concert, improvised by several local amateurs and professionals, partly Siamese and partly Khmers. One of the latter, a blind old fellow who played the guitar, was a real musical genius, and by his exquisite A solos, evinced a complete mastery of his instrument, whether in the most delicate arpeggios or the vigorous flights of lyric pathos, eliciting the admiration of us all, even the most hypercritical. Never did it fall to my lot to listen to as equally good and impressive a performance by a native musician as the one given by this blind and hoary Orpheus, inspired heaven knows by what native Eurydice. For indeed, he seemed to transfuse, in his sweet and melancholy passionate melodies, all his soul, and the weird elegy of the light and life his eyes had for ever lost, but which had by no means become extinct within him.

This soothing prelude prepared us for a placid sleep,

which, despite our bedding which was laid down, in true camp style, on the wooden floor of the bungalow, we enjoyed as much as on the most comfortable couch.

#### 7. ANGKOR WAT AT LAST.

Early next morning, December 28, we started, some on horseback and others on the famous rattling bullock carts, for the famous ruins, reaching Angkor Wat in less than an hour. The distance from Siem-rāb is about three miles and a quarter. The road, or natural trail that does duty for it, meanders over a reddish sandy plain overgrown with low but thick and exuberant jungle. Here and there one passes an occasional clearing planted with cocoanut palms and bananas. Though hidden from sight, the Angkor River flows but a few yards off, almost parallel with the track.

Strange to say, the five rude tops of the topmost domes of the famous sanctuary do not come in sight until one has got within a few hundred yards of them, being hidden by the tree-tops. One turn more of the road and one comes on a charming structure towering in all its majesty. How unfortunate that it is situated in the middle of such a flat plain! Had it been erected on one of the detached neighbouring hills, what a far more magnificent spectacle it would present! Yet, even as it is, it forms an impressive, almost supernatural sight, never to be forgotten, and but seldom equalled in the whole wide world. As one catches the first glimpse of it in the morning, whilst its formerly gilt domes recover their lost splendour under the rays of the rising sun, or even in the subdued reflex of the twilight, when their dark outlines are weirdly prominent in the transparent atmosphere like a fascinating mirage, the traveller involuntarily feels compelled to pause in profound awe and admiration, as one does before everything that is great, noble, and magnificent beyond the powers of description, not to say almost of human conception.

Partly for this reason, and partly because this monument

has been so often described and illustrated in special works devoted to its study, I shall not attempt, to give here even a summary account of its arrangement or architecture. Suffice to say that every one of our party, upon finding themselves in front of this masterpiece of Old Khmër art, stood enraptured in silent contemplation of the glorious sight. And after having surveyed the proportions of this massive yet so elegant and harmoniously proportioned structure, they gave utterance to their wonder in most emphatic terms, such as: "Oh, how charming!" "What a marvel!" "How grand and graceful!" It was, in short, pronounced by each of us, who had severally visited the most celebrated monuments of the world, on a par, as regards æsthetic grandeur, at any rate, with the best that human art, genius, and ingenuity had so far erected. Not that the masterpieces of Egyptian, Assyrian, Greek, Roman, mediæval, or even modern architecture ever fail to surpass it in some point or other, whether it be in sublimity of design, or exquisiteness of detail. In their comparatively smaller dimensions they can, in many an instance, carry the palm. So might have Cyrus' palace or the famous temple of Solomon easily outshone it in splendour, and the Tāj Mahal may surpass it in airiness; the Javanese Boro-bodor in outward showiness; the neighbouring Bā-yōn itself, of which more anon, in elegance and originality. But this is so immense, so gigantic! So much so that in comparison Cheops' pyramid is but a limb to it, and St. Peter's Cathedral could well be contained within its intermediate enceinte. Cyclopean in its structure, and exceedingly heavy in its massiveness, it is yet the very reverse of the Ovidian *rudis indigestaque moles*, for it is a mass, Titanic and Michelangelo-like withal, moulded into gracefulness. It is, in fact, a winged ode, an inspired pæan, petrified in sombre sandstone, as if to form the mausoleum for the departed Khmër art, in which its last mark was left and its last note was sung—the song of the dying swan.

The number of hands employed in building the beautiful edifice, the number of years it must have taken to bring the work, which was left incomplete, to the stage at which it has now remained for the past seven or eight centuries, will never, perhaps, be exactly known nor easily guessed. Leaving, however, a brief discussion of these and other topics connected therewith for a separate chapter at the end of the present notes, I shall here confine myself to a few measurements and other such data as are best apt to convey an idea of the size and salient features of this incomparable monument.

External perimeter of the ditch surrounding the whole monument measured, along the revetment stone wall, about 6,000 metres. Width of ditch in front, 200 metres; on the other sides, 64 metres. This is crossed in the middle of the western front (that towards which the façade of the structure is turned) by a monumental causeway 12 metres wide, leading to a bridge 80 metres long; and on the diametrically opposed side—*i.e.*, the eastern front (forming the back of the structure)—by a similar structure, 64 metres in width. The two causeways continue towards the inner part of the premises, reduced to 8 metres' width, and are the only two places of access to the sanctuary from the outside.

The total length of the west-east axis of the monument, measured between the two extreme limits of the causeways, is about 1,500 metres.

Along the inner edge of the ditch runs a wide berme, separating it from the wall of the enceinte, which latter encloses a rectangular space of  $1,047 \times 827$  metres. The short sides of the rectangle are those forming the front and rear of the monument. It is on this area that the structures are built. Access is afforded to this area by imposing gates rising on the middle of each side. The one in front, corresponding to the causeway coming from the west, has no less than 235 metres of frontage, and is a respectable monument in itself alone. The gates in the middle of the other three

sides are far more diminutive structures, having only 35 metres of frontage.

We now come to the principal group of buildings constituting the sanctuary proper. Proceeding along the front causeway, and passing between two fine lateral pavilions, succeeded by two sacred ponds, square in shape, we reach a rectangular terrace, about  $340 \times 430$  metres, forming the platform of the temple itself. This, fronted by a cruciform terrace, rises in three tiers, supported by basements, of ever-increasing height, along the outer edge of each of which run colonnaded or balustraded galleries, forming a triple enceinte surrounding the central spire. The basements of the first two tiers or enceintes of galleries are each about 4 metres high, and that of the inner tier overtops the one immediately adjoining by 12 metres, and the natural level of the ground by about 23 to 24 metres. The first enceinte of galleries is connected to the second from the front side by a cruciform vestibule; but the innermost enceinte, which, differently to the two others, is square in shape, and not rectangular, stands up isolated all round in a kind of courtyard, from which twelve steep staircases lead up to it, two at each corner and one at the middle of each side. Axial galleries further connect it with the central tower. Similar staircases, though less steep and lengthy, afford access to the two outer tiers of galleries from the outside. Moreover, the corners and centres of the sides of each perimetral gallery are surmounted by lancet-shaped domes, of which the corner ones tower up higher than the rest. Most conspicuous among these are, naturally, the four domes of the inner enceinte, which, with the central spire of the sanctum shooting up in their midst and overtopping them all, form a most magnificent crowning piece to the whole structure.

The following are the measurements relative to the group of buildings just described :

First, or outer, enceinte : Length of west and east fronts, 287 metres ; south and north sides, 215 metres.

Second, or intermediate, enceinte : Length of west and east fronts, 115 metres ; of south and north sides, 135 metres.

Third, or innermost, enceinte : This rises, as usual with the central sanctum, on a square massive basement measuring 63 metres on each side at the base, and 45 metres on the top between the axis of the galleries. The height of the pinnacle of the central dome above the surrounding ground was, when intact, 65 metres.

Here are, furthermore, a few figures as regards decorative details and sculptured areas. As many as 1,532 pillars are employed in and about the sanctuary, of which only a few are round, the rest being square. All consist in each case of a single block of sandstone, and have finely-ornamented pedestals and capitals, generally lotus-shaped. Some are fluted, but most of them are covered with exquisite and wonderfully well-executed carvings, representing either arabesques, figures of celestial nymphs and dancers, floral patterns, and others designs. The inner wall of the gallery forming the outer enceinte of the sanctuary proper is, for a length of some 600 metres and a height of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  metres or more, covered with really superb bas-reliefs carved in a stone of finer texture, representing well-known scenes from the two great Indū epics, the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābharata, and from early Khmēr legend and history. Other immense surfaces about the basements of the galleries and elsewhere are similarly ornamented, so that the total area of highly-finished carvings alone cannot be far less than 5,000 or 6,000 square metres, probably considerably more.

The stone blocks composing the principal parts of the structure are of remarkable size, and appear to have been quarried at P'hnom Bei, situated twenty miles to the north-east. The foundations, however, consist of laterite, extracted, no doubt, on the spot, from the vast ditches and artificial ponds. Most blocks, except those that have been carved or sculptured into statues and figures of mythical animals, exhibit holes in pairs, evidently for the purpose of



being more easily handled with iron hooks during transport. The joints fit so perfectly as to prove, in the best-preserved and most artistic parts of the building, scarcely discernible. No mortar or other binding cement has been employed to keep them together. The vaults and ceilings are pointed arches somewhat pointed on the exterior curved side, built on the corbel method, with superposed horizontal layers of stone blocks overlapping each other and gradually converging from the imposts towards the centre until they meet at the crown of the vault.

Bats reign supreme in the corridors and porches, filling them with the stench and filth of their droppings. Angkor Wat is thus, from a utilitarian standpoint, a valuable addition to the number of places in Kāmboja where guano is procured, which is used in manuring the Siēm-rāb gardens, as well as for the manufacture of saltpetre. Owing to the exertions of the present Siānese Commissioner, however, the galleries of the sanctuary infested with the bat pest are now kept cleaner than formerly, and a check has also been put upon the growth of the jungle in and about the courtyards and esplanades which was fast invading the sanctuary.

Near the sides of the causeway leading from the western portal to the temple rise two pavilions, which are said to have been the royal kitchens; and various edifices in the inner parts of the sanctuary are pointed out as the apartments formerly occupied by the Kāmbojan kings. But no credence can be attached to the fanciful stories invented about the origin and purposes of the building by the ignorant, degenerate descendants of the great race that erected it, or at least assisted in the grand work. It is more likely that the Khmēr kings, when tarrying there for several days in succession on the occasion of festivals and religious celebrations at the temple, resided—as has always been the custom—in temporary pavilions erected for the purpose.

On the esplanade, by the side of the front terrace affording access to the sanctuary, are several wooden buildings

converted into two Buddhist monasteries. The monks are supinely ignorant, knowing nothing of Pāli, and both they and the boys residing with them as pupils or novices are merely taught reading and writing in modern Khmër. Only the two head priests of the establishments are fair adepts in Pāli lore and the sacred texts, having undergone their training in Bāngkōk. More outwards, and on the northern side of the causeway, is to be seen a half-crumbling sālā, or resting-shed, for the use of visitors. Here we partook of luncheon, fairly earned by our laborious perambulations over the vast sanctuary.

On the fifth of the native month (April), the period at which the new year begins both in Siām and Kamboja, a considerable pilgrimage of the faithful takes place to the sanctuary, to make there *buñ* or "merit" with offerings, and also to enjoy themselves by feasts, songs, and games. At such seasons Angkor Wat assumes an unusually animated aspect, and the population throngs in festive crowds in and about the temple.

All available spaces on the walls of the passages lying on the main route of access to the inner parts of the sanctuary are covered with the names of past visitors, either written, painted, or engraved. One finds here names of people of nearly all nationalities, professions, and religions, whether Western or Oriental, conspicuous among which are some well-known European scientists and travellers. Nor is there by any means a lack of the usual gushing effusions in rhyme perpetrated under the would-be inspiration of the Muse. Here is a pigmean attempt at escalading Parnassus, copied from a pillar in the northern wing of the sanctum, which is, in itself, both charming and instructive :

" Monument deux fois millénaire [ ? ? ! ]  
Victorieux du temps, en ta beauté  
Mon nom [ ! ] de pygmée éphémère  
Salue avec humilité  
Ton colossal mystère et ta perennité [ ? ].

" G. D ——— .  
" October, 1899."

*Ab uno disce omnes.* Evidently, Angkor Wat has yet to find her bard—a no easy task. I may remark, by the way, as being a very rare and perhaps unique instance, that even amongst the modern Khmërs it counts at least one minstrel poetaster rejoicing in the name of Pōng, who has passably well, judging from a native point of view, sung its praises in his "*Lebök Angkor Wat*," the "Building of Angkor Wat," in which he displays singularly vigorous descriptive powers, although too often allowing his imagination to wander away unbridled in the realm of fiction.\*

Nearly in front of the sanctuary, and on the other side of the trail leading thither from Siēm-rāb, exists, terribly inharmonious, a cluster of hovels, the principal feature of which is an opium den and spirit shop, patronized by wayfarers as well as by the few inhabitants of the neighbourhood. Cocoanut palms flourish round about, as also pine-apples, while low jungle encircles the whole at a short distance. One becomes much depressed at the present desolate aspect of a country once so flourishing, and embittered at the sight of the greedy encroachments of the invading jungle, which envelops, conceals, and, slowly but surely, as a python gradually crushes its victim in its deadly embrace, buries so many art treasures in its recesses. What a sad contrast is presented here of Nature's work with the grand creations of human genius! Yet so far the massive structures of Angkor Wat have withstood tolerably well the destructive agencies of both jungle and time, as well as of fire and flood, and remarkably so, when it is beyond doubt the best preserved of all Old Khmër monuments, and is still capable of being restored to its pristine integrity. Let us hope that this labour of love may be undertaken ere it is too late.

Meanwhile, I may sum up the impressions formed by our party by saying that it was unanimously declared superior

\* His poem has been published by Mr. E. Aymonier in his "*Textes Khmers*," Saigon, 1878, pp. 267-297. A rough translation of it in French has been given on pp. 68-84 of the first part of the same work.

to every expectation formed from pictures and descriptions seen beforehand in books and other publications. There is no doubt, in fact, that it is one of the very few monuments in the world that do not disappoint the preconceived notions the tourist has acquired from guide-books and such like. This is saying no little; though not the most original, elegant, or even extensive, of the architectural marvels left us by the Old Khmër civilization, yet it is one of the most characteristic, and from its remarkably good state of preservation, its ready accessibility and imposing appearance, it is the only one of those masterpieces most likely to satisfy the expectations of the visitor, be he but a mere tourist of limited culture. For it requires no adept in the mysteries of art to grasp the endless beauties of Angkor Wat, as they naturally attract the attention of, and are so very prominent to, the most untrained eye. This and other impressions derived from these superb monuments calls to my mind a passage in one of Chateaubriand's best works, where he says: "Il n'y a que deux sortes de belles ruines: les ruines judaïques et les ruines grecques." Had the author of the "*Génie du Christianisme*" visited at least Angkor Wat, he certainly would not have failed to add the third "et les ruines Khmères."

#### 8. A PEEP INTO ANGKOR THOM, THE ANCIENT CAPITAL.

The afternoon of the same day, December 28, was spent by our party in a hurried visit to the ancient Khmër capital, now vulgarly known as Angkor Thom, situated about fifteen minutes' walk and ten minutes' leisurely ride to the north of Angkor Wat. *Angkor Thom* simply means the "Large *Nagara*" (or walled city). In Siamese it is more often designated as *Nakhōn (Nagar) Lúang*, and sometimes *P'hrah Nakhōn Lúang*, which conveys the same sense. On the way thither one skirts on the left the foot of the hillock called P'hnom Bā-Khěng; but unless told, he would not be aware of it, as the thick jungle hides its summit from view.

Shortly afterwards the southern gate of the famous city is reached. This, like the other gates of this capital (of which there are five in all, one at the middle of each side except the eastern one, which has two), is monumental and profusely ornamented with sculptures. On either side of the gateway there are doors admitting to lateral chambers, evidently destined for the use of the guard at the gate. Just above the floor, and on the inner wall of each of these chambers, one notices a square opening of about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  by  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet, giving access to a still more inner closet, which probably was used as a store. Both fronts, inner and outer, of the gate are ornamented with representations of two tricephalic elephants, one on each side, whose heads stand out in bold relief from the wall, while the tips of their trunks rest upon expanded lotus flowers, the roots of which descend down into the basement. The summit of the gateway is surmounted by the head of a four-faced Brahma. Away on either side stretch the city walls, which are remarkably high, crenulated with merlons, and built of well-fitting blocks of the usual dark-gray sandstone. The effect is truly imposing, and one is struck with wonder by the enormousness of the work, considering that the perimeter of the city is no less than ten miles, the sides measuring about 4,000 yards each. Its shape is an almost exact square.

Along the foot of the walls, on the outside, a slight but regular depression in the ground still marks the site of the ancient moat, now almost entirely filled up and converted into paddy-fields by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. A bridge, ornamented with figures of *yakṣas* and *naga* railings, gives access to each gate.

I cannot go into details as regards the numerous monuments, still extant in a more or less dilapidated condition, contained within and all around on the outside of this famous last centre of the Old Khmër power and grandeur, for even a short description of each of these masterpieces, and whatever notable features they present, would fill a well-sized volume. It will suffice for the present purpose to

merely mention the most important edifices inspected by our party during the hasty tour of that day. Later on I shall revert to the subject, and add some brief notices of other monuments observed in the course of my second visit to the town and its environs.

Continuing, then, our progress from the southern gate to the central part of the city, we found ourselves in front of that now, alas! crumbling jewel of Khmër architecture known as the *Ba-yôn*, or *Banyong*, still admirable in its distressful ruin. It rises in several tiers on a basement in the form of a Greek cross, and terminates in a lofty structure of the *prasad* type, surmounted by a four-faced head of Brahma, and surrounded by eight minor domed edifices in the same style, and also by colonnaded galleries. From the fact of statues of Buddha having formerly stood in its chambers, it has been argued that its purpose was probably Buddhist; but Aymonier is inclined to identify it\* with the *Sivasrama* of the Sdok Kōk Thom inscription, erected in *circa* A.D. 880 by King Indravarman. It must have formed a most charming object then, and for several succeeding centuries, when it towered superbly, with its forty-two domes covered with glittering gold, near the centre of the populous city, and displayed, to the wonder of the citizens and foreign visitors alike, the wealth of its exquisitely-executed basso-relievos, of which, alas! but a few fragments now remain intact. There seems no room for doubt that this monument is the golden tower, surrounded by over twenty stone towers, and marking the centre of the kingdom, referred to in the Chinese story of the 1296-1297 embassy to Kamboja. A possibly similar structure, though apparently having little more in common with it than the name, was erected within the precincts of the Siāinese royal palace at Ayuthia, in about 1605-1610, by the then reigning King Eka-Thosarot (*Ēka Dasaratha*). Having taken part in the two expeditions of 1593 and 1596 by his elder brother Naresr against Kamboja, that

\* "Le Cambodge," t. ii., p. 266, n. 3.

prince probably had occasion to pay a visit to the Angkor Thom ruins, and, struck by the irresistible beauty of the Bā-yōn, it is not unlikely he attempted to have it imitated in his own palace after becoming supreme King of Siām (A.D. 1605).\* A mere heap of débris is all that now survives of this structure, which stood in the western part of the palace aforesaid. To give an idea of the present state of the Bā-yōn, suffice it to point out that the roots of shrubs, even of fairly-sized trees, that have grown almost all over it, by defily inserting themselves between the

\* This is, of course, my own rectified date. The structure he had raised must have, however, judging from existing accounts, differed considerably—at least, in its details—from the Bā-yōn. Khūn-lúang Hāwat, in his “Memoirs” (pp. 282, 284), describes it as crowned by a pavilion in the style of a *maṇḍapa navasūra* (i.e., of a central dome surrounded by eight minor ones), as in the Bā-yōn, but ornamented with a single pinnacle (the central one), which, doubtless, ended in a slender-pointed spire, and not in a four-faced head of Brahma, as in the Khmēr prototype. A colonnaded porch projected out of each façade on the four sides of the building. The whole rose in the centre of an artificial pond, by the waters of which it was surrounded, so that access could only be obtained to it by boat. Nevertheless, bridges connected it with two kiosks erected on piles in the pond, one to the north and the other to the south of it. All formed the goal of frequent pleasure excursions on the part of the King and his successors. Within each of the four porches rose ornamental *puspaka* stands, surmounted by canopies, in which, very probably, stood figures of Buddha, unless they were intended for royal thrones. In front of each porch and by the edge of the pond was a landing-stage, from which a double staircase, with *nāga*-ornamented railings, led down to the water. An elegant balustrade ran round the whole on the edge of the embankment.

I have thought it useful to transcribe these particulars as likely to throw some light on the former arrangements and features of the Khmēr Bā-yōn, for there seems no doubt that its Siāmesé namesake was erected somewhat after the style of that ancient monument. It was, after its Khmēr prototype, designated the *Banyong Ratanās Mahā-prāsāda* (*Panyaṅga Ratna-āsana Mahā-prāsāda* = Great *prāsāda* of the Jewel-throne). The term *Banyong*, although spelled *Paññaṅga*, is really meant for Skr. *Paryāṅka* = throne, Pāli *Pallaṅka*. It might, of course, be referred also to the Siāmesé *Banyong* = *banchong*, *prachong*, etc.—i.e., “beautiful,” “elegant”; but I have no doubt that the former etymology from Skr. *Paryāṅka* is the right one, and thus one of the most crucial philological puzzles that have hitherto taxed the wits of writers on Khmēr antiquities disappears. Aymer (op. cit., t. ii., p. 428) is at a loss to explain this term, which he found also applied to the monument of *Bā-Không*.

crevices, have displaced the stone blocks and caused a good many of these to fall down.\* The whole building is now so lamentably shattered and split open with cracks and chasms that the day of its final collapse into a shapeless heap of débris cannot be far off. A restoration of it to its former condition seems to be hopeless, but the ingenuity of European architects might yet be able to save it from utter destruction, and perhaps to restore some of the less seriously damaged parts. Everything humanly possible should be tried and done to preserve for the admiration and delectation of future generations this masterpiece, probably the most original creation of Old Khmër art.

Next, the *P<sup>h</sup>iman-akas*, or, as its name is locally pronounced, *P<sup>h</sup>imean-aka* (*Vimana-akasa*—i.e., *Akasa-vimana* = the "High, or Aerial, Palace")†—rising with its two-tiered domes, *simha*- (lion) ornamented staircases, galleries, etc., on the site of the ancient royal palace, was visited. Then came the turn of the remains of the palace walls, enriched with superb sculptures; of the statue of the famous

\* The tree growing on the ruined monuments of Angkor, the stone blocks of which it forces asunder with its roots, is called *döm Slôt*—i.e., the *Slôt*-tree. Its bark is sometimes used to make paper with. Elsewhere I noticed the kind of *Ficus*, known in Siām as *P<sup>h</sup>ô-thalē*, which also helps in the destruction of ancient Siāmesese monuments.

† This very name *P<sup>h</sup>imān-ākās* also existed in the old Siāmesese capital, Ayuthia, for a building within the royal palace enclosure. Whether this was erected in imitation of its Khmër namesake or not, it is now impossible to say. During the latter days of that capital (A.D. 1767) it was used, as Khún Lúang Hāwat tells us (p. 280), as a storehouse for mirrors, glassware, and carpets imported from various foreign countries, among which was *Kālāpā* (Batavia). It will thus be seen that the masterpieces of Khmër architecture were widely imitated in Siām, especially those extant at Angkor Thom. They formed, in fact, the school for Siāmesese architects. In 1631, it is recorded in the annals of Ayuthia, that King Prāsād Thōng sent artisans to study, and take likenesses of, the monuments of *Nakhōn Lúang*—i.e., Angkor Thom—and on the models obtained therefrom he had a country residence for himself built on the right bank of the Saraburī River near Wat Devachandr, which is the point of departure for the road leading to the *P<sup>h</sup>rah Bāt* ("Sacred Footprint") Shrine. To this structure the King gave the name of *P<sup>h</sup>rah Nakhon Lúang*, after the place of origin of its prototypes. Remains of it exist to this day.



leprous King of Khmër legend still standing close by in the grave posture of a saintly ascetic, wailing like a Jeremiah over the direful ruin of the glorious empire that was once his own ; and of other minor monuments, of which more anon. In short, an endeavour was made to make the most of the very limited time at our disposal by visiting and seeing as much as possible of the remains of this Indo-Chinese Nineveh or Babylon. Anything like a thorough examination of all the monuments situated within its compass and environs would occupy weeks. As regards myself, however, I had, as will be seen from the sequel, the good fortune of being able to devote a few more days—quite outside the programme—to this fascinating employment.

By sunset we were back in our temporary quarters at Siem-râb, our minds full of memories, our hearts brimming with pleasant impressions, and our eyes filled with phantasmagorical visions of *prasads*, bas-reliefs, *yaksas*, and seven-headed *nagas*, and all the paraphernalia of the architectural imagery and legendary lore of the glorious period of what must have been a most interesting people. A plunge in the limpid waters of the neighbouring stream, which for centuries had bathed the foundations of so many of the masterpieces we had just admired, refreshed our bodies from the fatigues of the day—a day that was to close, perhaps for ever, our connection—personally, at any rate—with the monuments of Angkor.

(*To be continued.*)

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

AT a meeting of the Association, held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, on Monday, March 21, 1904, a paper was read by Mr. W. Hughes, M.I.C.E., on "Madras Irrigation and Indian Irrigation Policy." J. D. Rees, Esq., C.I.E., in the chair. Amongst those present were: Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Colonel and Mrs. Mead, Colonel Kilgour, Mr. and Mrs. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. R. H. Puckle, C.I.E., Colonel A. T. Frazer, Raizada Hans Raj, Mr. J. W. Rundall, M.I.C.E., Mr. McConechi, Mr. Robert Sewell, M.R.A.S., Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. Henry Sewell, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. J. Durant Beighton, I.C.S., Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Cavendish, Miss Maloney, Miss Rogers, Mr. Adolph Rost, Mr. Jopp, Mr. Godfrey Bradley, Mr. A. C. Langston, Mr. Victor Corbet, Mr. Aublet, Mr. W. H. Craig, Miss Annie Smith, Mr. A. C. Johnstone, Mr. B. A. Cooper, Mr. R. F. Chisholm, Mr. J. W. Martin, Mr. Martin Wood, Mr. T. D. Zal, Mr. N. D. Daru, Mr. L. K. Davè, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

The CHAIRMAN announced that letters of regret had been received from Lord Wenlock, whose name was so prominently and honourably connected with Madras Irrigation, and who, it was hoped, would have presided, and Sir Charles Stevens, K.C.S.I. In one respect he was competent to take the chair, and in one only—viz., that he knew Mr. Hughes years ago in Madras, and realized what a distinguished irrigation officer he was, and how well he was acquainted with the subject of which he was now treating. Mr. Hughes was, indeed, the first expert to deal with the report of the Indian Irrigation Commission, and in his paper he recognised the fact that irrigation could not be extended irrespective of physical and financial conditions. In that respect the question of irrigation resembled the policy of the municipal and local bodies of this country. It was not sufficient to say a certain work was an improvement and a benefit; it should only be carried out with due regard to cost and the pocket of the ratepayer. Another lesson of the Commission was that water could not everywhere be advantageously stored, and that in some provinces things had already reached such a pass that not a single stream could be intercepted without injury to private interests. Mr. Hughes would in his paper indicate the magnificent projects which were included in the Commission's programme. The telegrams received from India that morning—showed that £850,000 was provided for carrying out this programme next year, and that he took as a satisfactory proof that the Government of Lord Curzon meant to attack a problem of this grave importance with all the energy for which Lord Curzon was famous.

The paper was then read.\*

The CHAIRMAN said he was sure they would all agree that the paper they had heard from Mr. Hughes was worthy of his great reputation

\* See paper elsewhere in this *Review*.

Mr. Hughes had described his paper as "Madras Irrigation and Indian Irrigation Policy," though the proper sequence might appear to be "Indian Irrigation Policy and Madras Irrigation." But as a Madras officer he felt proud to think—and there were many present who felt the same—that the title of the paper was not altogether inappropriate, and that Madras was, at all events, as great an irrigation Province as any other, for it was there Sir Arthur Cotton carried out those great irrigation works which were associated with his name; he it was who first taught the people of India how to deal with the sandy river-beds. It was to his example that the execution of so many great projects was subsequently due. He remembered very well the *shasanams*, or copper-plate inscriptions, they used to meet with in Southern India; how *anicuts*, or dams, were represented as situated in the jungles surrounded by elephants, tigers, and other wild beasts, and imprecations were called down upon the heads of those who in after-times should neglect these important works of irrigation. Mr. Hughes, he thought, had done rightly in paying his tribute to those old irrigation engineers, because it seemed to him that, except in regard to the advance made by Sir Arthur Cotton, the English engineers had in point of fact been following in their footsteps. Another point in which Madras was conspicuous amongst the Indian provinces was in respect of its 40,000 minor irrigation works, upon the proper maintenance of which depended about two-thirds of the whole irrigable area of that Presidency. There was one matter to which Mr. Hughes had referred which was of the utmost importance, and which had on previous occasions been rather acrimoniously discussed in that room. Mr. Hughes had spoken of the assessments fixed at the time when the British took over the country, such assessments having continued in force in the middle of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. He believed the real facts to be these: the British found certain assessments varying from 50 per cent. to 80 per cent. in force, and they very naturally adopted them; but the difference was that the native Governments had not rigorously enforced these rates, having regarded them as ideal assessments to be worked up to or departed from as seasons varied, rather than as actual assessments to be annually collected regardless of harvests, and he himself believed that, prior to the time of Sir T. Munro, British policy in this behalf certainly left very much to be desired in Southern India. It should, however, be remembered that Sir Thomas Munro brought about a great reform when he fixed 50 per cent. of the net produce as the standard, and that there had subsequently been continual reductions. He believed the assessment generally collected all over the country was now about 7 per cent. of the gross, rising to 20 per cent. in the case of valuable irrigated lands. He would be glad if Mr. Hughes, when he replied, would speak of that matter, and also say what deduction was usually made for cultivating expenses. He had himself claimed that the figure was sometimes as high as 50 per cent., but this had been flatly contradicted, and the deduction had been put by other speakers as low as 15 per cent. He thought it would be very valuable if they could get an authoritative statement on that point, and he noticed that there

were many gentlemen present who were competent to speak upon it. He would also like to know whether the position could be contradicted that irrigated land in the South of India let for three times the amount of the land-tax. If that were the case, it was a very complete answer to the unjust criticisms so frequently passed upon the British Government, to the effect that they had raised the assessment to such a height as to produce famine, while, on the contrary, it was their earnest endeavour to mitigate and prevent, so far as was possible, suffering resulting from loss of crops in any part of the vast continent of India. As to the irrigation projects which were included in the Commission's recommendations, there were gentlemen present who could discuss them exceedingly well, amongst others Mr. Jopp, who was responsible for a considerable project in Southern India modelled upon the Periyar irrigation scheme, which very much resembled in many features that of the Tungabudra in the Commission's programme. He was very much impressed with the truth of Mr. Hughes' statement that "the relief of famine, without taking measures at the same time to increase the resources of the places subject to famine, seems certain to end in disaster, as the number requiring relief will only be greater in each succeeding famine." This was a great truth, and in the last famine, if they took the number of persons fed, and counted each person each day as a separate unit, the numbers relieved would be found to amount to about two-thirds of the estimated population of the world. At the same time, too much importance was not to be attached to mere numbers, because it must be remembered that at the height of the famine, while something like six and a half millions were on out-door relief in India, the proportion of the population on relief was less than that receiving relief from the rates in a normal year in England. Consequently, conclusions were not to be hastily arrived at, as there was a good deal to be said on both sides. Mr. Hughes took the Indians to task for not making greater use of water power. Personally, he was not competent to speak on this subject, but he was told that we were very backward in England in not lighting the country by electricity by using the power of the waves of the surrounding ocean; so that India might not, after all, be so very backward in this behalf. The Mysore Government had shown the way with the Cauvery irrigation scheme, which was going to result in large profits to the Mysore Government, and had already resulted in savings to Mysore gold-fields, where some of the mines were so prosperous that in these bad times they were among the few things good enough to attract the attention of the bears of the Stock Exchange, whose depredations were more destructive than those of the Mysore jungles. He did not, however, wish to enlarge upon that subject lest he should forget at what table he was sitting, and would ask Mr. Puckle to speak on the paper.

MR. PUCKLE, C.I.E., observed that it was so long since he had left India that he had very little to say on the subject, and his recollections would hardly carry him back to such figures as the cost of cultivation, expenses, though he should say they were roughly 30 per cent.; but Mr. Hughes and he had been fellow-workmen together, and he had the greatest interest

in hearing what he had to say on this subject, particularly in the matter of wells, and the indirect benefits to be derived from irrigation works apart from the question of actual interest on the money invested. The three great projects Mr. Hughes had mentioned—the Cauvery, the Tungabudra, and the Kistna—would, as far as he could make out, distinctly benefit seven of the districts of Madras; and as those seven districts constituted mostly a high and dry tract of country, their preservation from famine would be a very great advantage both to the people and to the Government. As to the returns to be derived from the works, he could say nothing; but as to the indirect benefits, in addition to the interest that the works would yield, he quite agreed in all that had been said by the Commissioners as to their being deserving of consideration. Judging from what Mr. Hughes had said, very likely Rs. 12 per acre might be the direct return that the works would bring in. The people, being in such a much better position, would pay more indirect taxation in the way of abkari, excise, stamps, and everything else; and the country would be in such a much more prosperous condition that the Government would benefit considerably by the ability of the people to withstand the effects of drought and famine. As to the wells, he had never been very certain, having seen them utterly dried up in time of famine, and the people busily engaged in deepening them on such occasions. Since his time multitudes of new wells had no doubt been sunk, but, except in very especial situations, they did not yield water when the monsoons failed. They must, therefore, depend entirely on those sources of supply which were apparent and which came from the Ghât mountains, which were open to the south-west monsoon; for local streams as well as wells dried up, and nothing could be got from them in times of drought. It was only in connection with these main sources of supply, to which Mr. Hughes alluded—the Cauvery, the Tungabudra, and the Kistna—that these great works were to be constructed, they being perennial streams, unaffected by famine or drought.

MR. JOFF, on being called upon, said he had only come to gain information, and in the presence of so many people better acquainted with the subject he feared he could not make any useful contribution to the debate.

MR. ROGERS said he was entirely unacquainted with the districts to which Mr. Hughes had referred, but one or two things had been said with regard to Bombay which he wished to notice. Due credit had been afforded to Bombay as being the first Presidency in which the system of acknowledging the right of any man who made an improvement to the full and continuous benefit of that improvement was acknowledged. But there was one thing further which had not been mentioned which he thought might possibly be adopted; at all events, he would throw it out as a suggestion. At the time of the Revenue Survey Act, in Bombay it was distinctly laid down that, not only all present improvements made by the capital and labour of the *rayat*, but capital and labour expended in the past, should also be taken into consideration. This might possibly apply in Madras—he could not say; but in Bombay the plan adopted was that

wherever irrigation was charged for from private wells, or from wells generally, the extra water-rate was struck off, and the lands under those particular wells were raised to the highest dry-crop rate. That amounted to the same thing, the value of past improvements being recognised, as well as of those within reach of the survey. There were one or two points upon which he wished to ask for information. He had lately seen in the papers a good deal about the assessment of lands which derived water by percolation as the result of the construction of Government works of irrigation, and he wished to know whether and to what extent that was taken into consideration in making the assessments, and in what manner that was done, because he considered it a most difficult thing to see underground and ascertain the amount of percolation. If certain zones were laid out within which it was perfectly certain water could percolate so as to improve the cultivation, well and good, but otherwise he did not see how the matter could be dealt with. He also wished to ask as to the system of assessment in Madras of the second crop. In Bombay they did not assess the second crop, but he thought it feasible, under ordinary circumstances, that the second crop should be assessed. It would be easy to put on extra assessment with the idea that a second crop could be raised. Wherever a second crop could be raised he did not see why the assessment should not be raised proportionately.

MR. MARTIN WOOD thought they were getting a little outside the object of the meeting. The questions as to the assessments and to the wells were very important matters, but they were not the great matter which to-day they had in hand. Considered as a professional paper, Mr. Hughes' paper was everything that could be desired. At first sight it might be thought he had omitted some incidental things, but it would be found they were all there. The great merit of Mr. Hughes' paper was that it summed up in final explanation and review the masterly and wonderful Report of the Commission. This was not so much a question of means and details, or of comparison between large works and small works, but the recognition that the state of things in India during the last twenty or thirty years shewed that the one thing needful in regard to Indian policy was war against drought. They had scarcely caught on to that, he thought, as they ought to have done. With regard to the Royal Commission, he would illustrate what he meant in this way: They began in the latter part of 1891 in Northern Gujerat. By the time they had got through that district there were a dozen or a score of good works that might have been started during the course of the inquiry, but as far as he knew not a single one of these works had been taken in hand. According to the telegram received that morning, Rs. 30,000,000 were to be loaned for public works, railways, and irrigation, but they did not know what proportion was for irrigation and what proportion for railways. Hitherto five or six times as much had been spent upon railways, leaving a heavy debt, as upon water-works of all kinds, which—he believed Mr. Hughes would confirm him—yielded on the whole, taking bad and good together, 5 or 6 per cent. Mr. Hughes now suggested a limit of 3 per cent., and with regard to a large part of the country, as he had reminded them, there could not be larger returns.

They must, therefore, take the country as a whole. It was not a question of what these particular works would pay, or of what large works or small works would pay, but what evil and what loss they would prevent, and in that sense this was a burning question; without the water, people's lives would burn away in misery, and their resources would burn away. Mr. Hughes had referred to the twenty or thirty crores of rupees that had been spent in relief, and that was what they had to look to, not to returns in the tradesman's sense. He trusted that the Council would utilize the occasion of this paper to make some direct appeal to the authorities to urge on these works and get them in hand. As he was saying, some years ago some of these works might have been put in hand, and still more so last year, before last monsoon. The monsoon had now come upon them; their hearts were quaking already as to whether it would come or not, and yet, so far as he knew, nothing was being done with regard to these new works. They were being promised water-storage now but it would require strong pressure, popular pressure, and the pressure of public opinion to give India water-storage. The prime duty of the Indian Government was water-storage; with water-storage irrigation would, of course, follow. He spoke of storage: if they kept the water it would do its work one way or another. They had to urge upon the authorities to give this storage at once, and without waiting; it was, so to speak, war against drought. It might be said this was a reckless policy, but it was not. In the Report of the Commission and such-like documents the need for such a work was recognised, and the interest of this paper was not so much in its excellent and valuable scientific delineation, but in rousing the attention of the public to the fact that this one great want of India should be given the first place; and he would suggest that the Council might at once apply, by deputation or otherwise, to know how much of this loan was going to be spent for water-storage. The subject was full of interest. It was quite right to speak of Madras as the irrigation province of India, though an immense deal had been done in the North-West Provinces, in Cauvery, and elsewhere. They should look at what was to be saved in loss and misery and death, and talk less of the limitations to which the chairman referred. What were brains and engineers for but to overcome such things? The excuse of financial limitation was the most paltry excuse of all. The half-million of the revenues of India spent over the wretched Thibet business would save a million people alive. No one could say how much of the present allotments were for irrigation.

The CHAIRMAN observed that in the telegram he spoke of £850,000 was allocated to irrigation as distinct from railways.

MR. HUGHES, in reply, said he first wished to explain why his paper was restricted to Madras irrigation. Indian irrigation generally was too big a subject to take up in a single paper, seeing that it required 400 pages of the Report of the Commission to explain exactly how things stood; and, besides that, the irrigation of Madras was the only irrigation with which he was familiar, but he believed the Punjab had about caught up Madras now. With regard to Mr. Rogers' question as to charging for wells near Government works, that matter was explained in the Report of the Com-

mission. With regard to the assessment of wells, the Commission had recommended that some further concessions should be made to the *rayats*.

MR. ROGERS said he wished particularly to know whether Government assessment was charged on second crops.

MR. HUGHES said he believed a composition of the assessment could be made in the case of two crops, but it was optional with the *rayats* to accept such an assessment. When the second crop was separately assessed, it was generally assessed at half-rates. He was not, however, very well up in assessment questions, and did not know what method of assessment prevailed in different places. With regard to the remark of Mr. Martin Wood as to why irrigation works were not generally started after the visit of the Famine Commissioners, he might say that it took a long time to start irrigation fields or works from which there was only the prospect of a very low money return. Madras, however, was a long way in advance of the Indian Government in her ideas as to irrigation, and for a long time had advocated works which should pay only 2 per cent., which had hitherto been the slender return for advances in respect of such works fixed by the Government of India. But he had no doubt a great many works would be put in hand as soon as the Government of India had relaxed the rule about the amount of return required.

The CHAIRMAN asked as to the amount of the cultivation expenses.

MR. HUGHES said they were generally taken at one-third of the value of the crop, but there was probably a difference as between dry crops and wet crops.

MR. HANS RAJ said 50 per cent.

The CHAIRMAN observed that when he had suggested a 50 per cent. deduction on a previous occasion he had been contradicted.

MR. PUCKLE said the amount varied very much, but as far as he could remember, the general deduction was about one-third.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN, in proposing a vote of thanks to the reader of the paper, said that though he knew nothing whatever of Madras irrigation, there were one or two general questions raised in the lecture and discussion on which he should like to say a few words to persons who were not Madras experts. He would first desire with all courtesy to deprecate the general attack made by Mr. Martin Wood on the policy of the Indian Government. Looking over the whole world with the exception of the Delta of the Nile, which might be spoken of comparatively as capable of being held in the hollow of one's hand, a small district which would be lost in any one of the Indian Presidencies, they would find no country in which such infinite patience, time, labour, and money had been expended upon irrigation work as in India. The financial requirements of India were so large that the amount which could each year be spent upon irrigation was naturally limited, and during the last few years the ordinary financial limitations had been intensified by special causes familiar to them all.

MR. MARTIN WOOD : Famine included.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN said he thought everything had been done which could possibly be done under the circumstances, and in his own province



of the Punjaub, which for obvious reasons the lecturer had not touched upon, irrigation works were now being conducted on a scale so extensive that they would surprise, he thought, Mr. Martin Wood if he were aware of them, or if he knew of them he did not understand how Mr. Wood could justify his criticisms.

MR. MARTIN WOOD said such works must be quite new, and ought to have been undertaken thirty years ago.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN said it was of no use to criticise the action of the Government in bygone years, what they did or did not do. He was merely speaking of the policy of the Government of India of to-day, emphasized by the telegrams received that morning, to the effect that a very large sum of money—two millions sterling—was about to be raised by loan at rather an inconvenient time for irrigation and railway purposes during the financial year.

MR. MARTIN WOOD : That is only the usual sum each year.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN added that he had been surprised in listening to the paper to hear of the enormous character of the works now being proceeded with in the Madras Presidency. He had lately come from Egypt, and he had seen how largely the prosperity of that country had been stimulated by the great irrigation works at Assouan, Assiout, and the barrage below Cairo, the effect of which was largely to increase the productive power of the Delta of the Nile. Yet these works, which had been the theme of admiration of the world, and in respect of which praises had been justly lavished upon Sir William Garstin, Sir John Aird, Sir Ernest Cassel, and others who had been connected with them, seemed to sink into insignificance when compared with the enormous works now proposed for the Madras Presidency. These works, though not yet sanctioned, he had no doubt would be carried out before long, and then, with Egypt on the one hand and India on the other, we might certainly, without fear of unfavourable criticism, point to the work that England had done in the way of irrigation as being unsurpassed either in ancient or modern times.

MR. PENNINGTON seconded the vote of thanks, and MR. HUGHES having made a brief acknowledgment, the proceedings terminated.

## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

## THE DOMICILED IN INDIA.

SIR,

## THE RACE.

Domiciliation implies alienage. A true Euro-Asian is half a European and half an Indian, and to call him a domiciled European is a liberal concession. But the term "the domiciled" is a misnomer as ordinarily applied to a heterogeneous people, fully one-half of whom are racially aborigines, inasmuch as they are, as they have been for successive generations, vastly more Indian than European, while a large proportion of them are natives pure and simple (and always of the lowest castes), posing as individuals of European descent. A high-caste Hindu convert to Christianity, though adopting European costume, seldom, if ever, assumes a European name, for fear, as he humorously puts it, "of being mistaken for a mission-bred, curry and rice (or an orphanage-raised) Eurasian." The other half of the domiciled are ethnically the converse of that just described—*i.e.*, from the pure down to the not less than half European, who forms the connecting link between the two sections of the community. The complexion of these folk is white of all shades between that of the Anglo-Saxon and the Spaniard, and only they with any propriety can claim the distinction of being described as domiciled Europeans.

## NOMENCLATURE.

Everyone in European costume and having a European patronymic derived by descent, or appropriated at pleasure, determines his or her own nationality. A pure Indian calls himself a *Eurasian*; an individual with from 5 to 50 per cent. of white blood, an *Anglo-Indian*; a white person, irrespective of pedigree, writes himself down a *European*. Latterly the whole race in European dress has named itself *Anglo-Indian* in the Bengal Presidency. Hence the white section differentiates itself by claiming a pure European nationality; it is a self-protective expedient which is justified by the unfortunate predicament in which it finds itself.

## PROGRESSIVE INDIANIZATION OF EURASIA, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

Not long since the *Englishman*, in writing of European education in India, said: "It has been calculated that in some European institutions in this city [Calcutta] no less than 33 per cent. of the pupils are *without a trace* of European blood"; and anyone at all interested in the welfare of the community must be alarmed at the statement. The consequence of this commingling is easily forecasted, and that is, the majority of such youths will adopt European names if they have not already done so, as a handsomely paying artifice, and form alliances with those of more or less remote European descent, the offspring claiming to be Euro-Asians, and blatantly asserting their right to appointments reserved for the "European class" of

the natives of India in the Medical, Telegraph, Police, and other departments. Many of such pedigree have already been all too successful in securing these appointments. The carelessness of Government officials in this matter, as well as in that of volunteering—which nearly wrecked the Madras Volunteer Guards a few years ago, and is now keeping out eligible men from it and other corps—has furnished a powerful incentive to the wholesale masquerading which is being vigorously protested against in the newspapers all over India, both by Englishmen and semi-Englishmen. Another incentive is found in the doctrine of “reversion to type,” which, like charity, covers the numerous sins of these aspiring sons of the soil. It is a stock phrase with them: “I’m a Eurasian, though I’m dark; Jones is fair, but he’s a Eurasian, like myself”—rhetorical, but untrue. Cases of reversion to the Indian type there are to be sure (all too many, it is feared, for the complacency of the community); but in families in which the blood of both the races is in equal proportions, semi-whites, and occasionally pure whites, are also to be found, so that an Indian-looking member can always prove his nationality by the testimony of the others. Such a type of individual would be a startling *rara avis* in a quadroom family, and a search for one in an octeroom household would be vain. Pseudo-Eurasians—viz., current accessions from *les indigènes* and traditional Eurasians with or without a suspicion of white blood imported into their veins in the dim, distant past—are of a fixed type of Asiatic humanity. To speak of a wholesale reversion to that type in their case is, therefore, ridiculously unscientific, and a libel on Dame Nature, who is not less generous than severe in her dispensations.

The persistent invasion of Eurasia will, in the near future, so attenuate the European element in it as to make it quite a negligible quantity, and then woe to the conquered. The race will be more deservedly discredited and generally despised than it is at present; and it is not too rash to predict that it will prove to be a delusion and a snare, a broken reed, if leaned upon in an emergency, especially in the case of volunteer regiments. That this is not the pessimism of a prejudiced writer will be seen from the following quotation from the *Lancet*:

“The 800 unmounted volunteers who were at the Delhi Durbar afforded Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel J. S. Brooke an opportunity of showing in his report various particulars of the general physical condition of the men under his charge. . . . He has no hesitation in saying that on field service fully 35 per cent. of the men would have been useless. Volunteers in India are largely composed of men of mixed blood; in fact, the cry has gone up that in some corps there is very little distinction between the men and the natives, and even that in many cases typical natives have been admitted. This is a serious question, because the volunteers in India are more likely to be called upon for duty than are those at home, and physical unfitness in so large a proportion would cause us to live (if the volunteers are to be of any use) in a fools’ paradise.”

In these circumstances it is inconceivable why prompt measures should not be taken to purge the *quasi-auxiliary European* army of its detrimental, as is being done in the native army.

REMEDIAL MEASURES.

a) *Official*.—No device at this acute stage of affairs would altogether prevent natives from merging into Eurasia, or succeed in evicting those already in it; but much may be done in this direction in connection with volunteering and the recruitment of men in the Government departments already named, who are expected to possess such qualities of the European race as are considered to be indispensable in those services. I have for many years considered that but one criterion should be adopted for determining the nationality of any member of the domiciled race. I have lived to see my worst fears realized by its neglect. At the same time, I am glad to find that two of the most eminently practical societies—viz., officers of British regiments and British traders—have cut the Gordian knot to their own satisfaction as well as that of the genuine domiciled. Under an old Government ruling, men of a certain pedigree are admissible into the European army, but commanding officers will not accept some on this ground alone. Indeed, they ignore pedigree, and, all other things being equal, enlist men who are approximately British-looking. As to the trade, in their advertisements for shop-tenders of both sexes, the eligibility of candidates is clearly indicated in the terms, "None but Europeans and fair Eurasians need apply." The terms are all but synonymous. Here, then, we have the colour line distinctly laid down, and the chiefs of the Government establishments referred to, as also officers commanding volunteer regiments, might in all reason adopt it—though with more elasticity and *justice*, it might be added—in the interests of the State and to their own credit. That is to say, if a man does not distinctly impress one at first sight as being of at least half-white descent, he should be given the opportunity of proving, beyond the shadow of a shade of a doubt, that he *is* such an entity. Baptismal certificates, solemn declarations, references to tradition, school certificates, the testimony of folks themselves of doubtful origin, or of white or whitish relations by marriage, should be accounted as valueless, as indeed they are. There are other occupations innumerable, both in and out of the Government service, in which *quasi* Eurasians can find ample scope for their talents and character, and they are not of a mean order. The indirect effect of such a procedure would help to correct the imprudent marriages now so lightly contracted. Volunteer officers and principals of schools are chiefly responsible for the chow-chow which the civic soldiery and the pupils of both sexes present on public occasions. The laxity has pecuniary considerations for its *raison d'être*. If inspectors of schools were empowered to demand certificates from those concerned to the effect that the pupils are of proved European descent, and at the same time to ask for the proofs forthcoming in the cases of those whose nationality is suspicious, before passing the Government grant claimed, there would not be a repetition of the farce of 33 per cent. of natives being educated in European schools, as in Calcutta, to swamp Eurasia and denationalize it.

(b) *Social*.—The white section of the community could also resist the incoming tide of dark blood by refusing to form alliances with any but those of their own racial standard. Guilds should be formed all over the

country, having for their social creed and conduct, "No more Indianization ; no more mésalliances."

A Eurasian of the class whom I have already described despises the womenkind of his own pedigree as a rule, and literally thirsts for a white wife. Unfortunately, he too often succeeds in obtaining one from an indigent family, or with greater facility from an orphan asylum, as the clergy seem indifferent who a suitor is, so long as the orphanage is relieved of the burden of a marriageable girl. A white man with a dark wife clinging to his arm is not a refreshing sight, but a cadaverous Othello leading a blonde, or even a brunette, to the hymeneal altar is a spectacle that might move an angel to tears.

R. A. BUTTERFIELD.

INDIA,  
March, 1904.

P.S.—In view of the foregoing, it becomes a matter for consideration whether the percentage of native Indians allowed to enter the Civil Service of India and Cooper's Hill College (to say nothing of the commissioned ranks of the Indian Medical Service) should be held to include low-caste men sartorially transformed into Eurasians, either in the past or present.

R. A. B.

#### A LOST MANUSCRIPT.

SIR,

Will you be so kind as to help the search for a missing manuscript by allowing me to make its loss known in your columns ?

It is that copy of the Turki text of the Emperor Babar's Memoirs which the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone lent to Dr. Leyden and to Mr. W. Erskine for their translations.

There can be no doubt that it was in the Advocates' Library of Edinburgh in 1848. No trace of it can now be found there.

If any of your readers has knowledge of the existence of a copy of the Babar-nama (which is variously entitled also the Tuzuk-i-babari and the Waqiat-i-babari), he would confer a real service by giving information of it to the writer of this letter.

ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE.

PITFOLD, SHOTTERMILL,  
HASLEMERE R.S.O., SURREY,  
March, 1904.

#### GONDOKORO.

Lord Cromer, having visited the Belgian stations of Kiro and Lado, and also Gondokoro in the Uganda Protectorate, reports his impressions to Lord Lansdowne as follows :\*

"It must be remembered that the 1,100 miles of country which I traversed between Khartoum and Gondokoro has, until recently, been the prey of slave-dealers, Egyptian Pashas, and dervishes. Under the circumstances, it might well have been expected that much time would be re-

\* *Vide* Parliamentary Paper, Africa, No. 1 (1904) ; presented to Parliament February, 1904.

quired to inspire confidence in the intentions of the new Government. It is, however, certain that, with the exception of a portion of the Nuer tribe, who live in a very remote region on the upper waters of the Sobat, confidence has been completely established in those districts which are under British rule. Except in the uninhabitable 'sudd' region, numerous villages are dotted along the banks of the river. The people, far from flying at the approach of white men, as was formerly the case, run along the banks, making signs for the steamer to stop. It is clear that the Baris, Shilluks, and Dinkas place the utmost trust and confidence in the British officers with whom they are brought in contact. In spite of the difficulties of communicating with them through an interpreter—himself but slightly educated—it was impossible to mistake their manifest signs and expressions of security and content. They flock into the settlements without fear; and if, as often happens, they will not work, it is merely because they are lazy, and have few wants, not because they entertain doubt that they will be paid for working. These remarks apply equally to Gondokoro, although I was only able to see a few of the natives there. I had not time to visit the principal Bari village, which lies at some little distance from the river.

"The contrast when once Congolese territory is entered is remarkable. From the frontier to Gondokoro is about eighty miles. The proper left, or western, bank of the river is Belgian. The opposite bank is either under the Soudanese or the Uganda Government. There are numerous islands, and as all these are under British rule—for the thalweg, which, under treaty, is the Belgian frontier, skirts the western bank of the river—I cannot say that I had an opportunity of seeing a full eighty miles of Belgian territory. At the same time, I saw a good deal, and I noticed that, whereas there were numerous villages and huts on the eastern bank and on the islands, on the Belgian side not a sign of a village existed. Indeed, I do not think that any one of our party saw a single human being in Belgian territory, except the Belgian officers and men and the wives and children of the latter. Moreover, not a single native was to be seen either at Kiro or Lado. I asked the Swedish officer at Kiro whether he saw much of the natives. He replied in the negative, adding that the nearest Bari village was situated at some distance in the interior. The Italian officer at Lado, in reply to the same question, stated that the nearest native village was seven hours distant. The reason of all this is obvious enough. The Belgians are disliked. The people fly from them, and it is no wonder they should do so, for I am informed that the soldiers are allowed full liberty to plunder, and that payments are rarely made for supplies. The British officers wander, practically alone, over most parts of the country, either on tours of inspection or on shooting expeditions. I understand that no Belgian officer can move outside the settlements without a strong guard. It appears to me that the facts which I have stated above afford amply sufficient evidence of the spirit which animates the Belgian Administration, if, indeed, Administration it can be called. The Government, so far as I could judge, is conducted almost exclusively on commercial principles, and, even judged by that standard, it would appear that those principles are somewhat shortsighted."

## THE UGANDA PROTECTORATE.

A General Report by His Majesty's Commissioner has been presented to Parliament,\* in which he states :

"From April 1, 1902, that portion of Uganda lying to the east of the Victoria Nyanza, and formerly known as the Eastern Province, was severed from Uganda and transferred to the East Africa Protectorate. With this exception the boundaries of Uganda remained unchanged during the year. . . .

"The Uganda Protectorate is administered by His Majesty's Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief, under the direction of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The Commissioner is assisted by a Deputy-Commissioner and a staff of three Sub-Commissioners, seven Collectors, and thirteen Assistant Collectors, and resides at Entebbe, the administrative capital of the Protectorate, where are also located the High Court, the Treasury, and other departments of the Administration. For administrative and political purposes the Protectorate is divided into five provinces, consisting of the Kingdom of Uganda, the Western Province, the Central Province, the Nile Province, and the Rudolf Province. . . .

"The first work of British administration in Uganda was to establish peace, and to curb the despotic and tyrannous rule under which the people lived in the time of Mwanga and former Kings. To those who laboured so successfully towards this end, and to those whose work lay during the dark and anxious days of the rebellion and the mutiny, are due the results which are now apparent in the Uganda of to-day—results which render the work of present-day government comparatively easy, and as free from anxiety on account of serious trouble as it is interesting and pleasant. Tyranny and oppression have been put down, and peace and order have been firmly established over the settled portions of the Protectorate, and laws and regulations enacted giving equal justice to all. In the kingdom of Uganda the Chiefs and land-holders have been awarded estates which yet remain to be demarcated by the survey, and in the lesser kingdoms of Unyoro, Toro, and Ankole, the people have settled down to the peaceful cultivation of their lands. Trade and cultivation have been freed from the restrictions under which they suffered, and intercommunication between provinces, impossible a few years ago, is now a matter of ordinary daily occurrence. The fact that natives of, say, Ankole and Unyoro can move as freely through Uganda and other parts of the Protectorate as in their own country strikes them as, perhaps, the most direct evidence of our rule. The carrying of arms is rapidly being discontinued ; it is rare now that one sees weapons in the more settled districts, and caravans of porters pass from Busoga in the east to Toro in the west without escort and without fear of molestation. . . .

"In civilization and general well-being progress has been made. The chiefs are taking more readily to Western methods in the conduct of their affairs, and evince a desire to adapt themselves more and more to the higher conditions of life which have been introduced among them. The visit of the Katikiro Apolo to England, where he had the honour of being

\* Africa, No. 15, 1903. Presented to Parliament December, 1903.

present at His Majesty's coronation, has been productive of good. On his return his account of the places he visited, and his descriptions of our arts and manufactures, railways, and the scenes of daily life he witnessed, were listened to with the keenest interest. The Uganda railway is rapidly revolutionizing the conditions of life on this side of the lake; prices of necessaries have fallen; other articles are being introduced which it was impossible to obtain before. The chiefs are commencing to build houses on European methods, to fit them with the more ordinary pieces of furniture, and to appreciate many of the articles in daily use in England. . . . Trade has increased considerably, and an impetus has been given to cultivation and agriculture throughout the Protectorate. Peace and order have been maintained; there is a marked absence of the more serious forms of crime, and life and property are as safe to-day as in any portion of His Majesty's dominions."

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#### SOUTHERN NIGERIA.

The Acting High Commissioner, Mr. L. Probyn, in July last, reports for 1902:\*

"During the year 1902 the Protectorate was freed for ever from the evils of slave-raiding and slave-dealing on an organized scale. On April 1, 1901, 'The Slave-dealing Proclamation' was published, and on November 26, 1901, the provisions of that law, making slave-dealing in all its forms a penal offence, were applied by order to all parts of the Protectorate; but it was not until the termination in April, 1902, of the successful military operations in the Aro country that the system of tribal warfare for the purpose of making slaves could be accurately regarded as an evil of the past.

"The southern part of the Protectorate is a delta country, through the low lands of which the Ossa, Niger, Engenni, Opobo, and Cross Rivers force their way through winding, sluggish creeks to the sea. At a distance varying from forty to seventy miles from the coast higher land is met, the zone on which the oil-palm flourishes is passed, and the country, undulating for the most part, but in many places very hilly, stretches northward to the boundary with the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, which runs east and west at a distance of 180 miles from the sea. Slave-raiding had been repressed for many years previous to 1902 in the delta country, and in all the hinterland above described except that part of the latter which lies between the Niger and the Cross River (a distance of 100 miles), and it was throughout this region that the Aro influence was predominant.

"The most noteworthy fact brought to light by the military operations in the last stronghold of slavery above described was that the Aros were not a military race, and that their influence was due to their relatively great intelligence as compared with other native tribes. The strength of this influence was such that not only was it paramount in the Aro country, but was also felt in many places in the delta region between the Niger

\* Laid before Parliament in November, 1903, No. 405, Colonial Reports.



and the Cross River, and also to the east of the latter. Whenever a tribe attempted to avoid acting in accordance with the Aro policy, it was fought by warlike tribes under the direction of the Aros, who recompensed such mercenaries by allowing them to loot the conquered tribe, and to seize and sell as slaves those who survived the conflict. Within the area of the direct Aro influence no important dispute could be settled save by reference to the oracle in the Juju, or sacred grove, situated in a ravine near Ibum (Aro Chuku). Each of the contending parties attempted to propitiate this oracle by large offerings, and the party against whom judgment was pronounced was believed by his tribes to have been destroyed by the hidden power, while in reality he was almost invariably sold secretly into slavery. As the tribe supposed to be specially favoured by this oracle, the Aros were able to gain wealth in the shape both of propitiatory offerings and of slaves. In addition to being a constant source of wealth, the Juju oracle also afforded the Aros a means whereby anyone opposing, or supposed to be desirous of opposing, their authority could be easily removed, as they could at any time contrive that a charge should be made against the rebel, thus forcing him to appeal to the oracle, and then, on his arrival at Ibum, he would either be made powerless through parting with all his wealth as an offering, or, if his gifts were insufficient, his doom would be pronounced by Aro priests hidden in a concealed cave in the sacred ravine, and thereafter the Aro opponent became the Aro slave."

The Aros do not appear to have resorted to trial by ordeal. This mode of testing the truth of witnesses is resorted to largely by the natives in many parts of the Protectorate, and is, of course, of ancient origin. The abuse of this practice was checked by a proclamation drafted in 1902, viz., the "Ordeal, Witchcraft, and Juju Proclamation, 1903," No. 13 of 1903.

"The military operations which were brought to a successful close in 1902 destroyed the system of slave-making above described, and the dreaded Juju oracle ceased for ever to exercise its baneful influence. The Aros themselves, however, were not destroyed, but, on the contrary, immediately gave further proof of their intelligence by adapting themselves to the new conditions of life. It had been their practice to prevent tribes within their influence from attempting to do a direct trade with the delta country, and thus they alone had experience in trade. They at once began to utilize this experience; they readily learnt to appreciate the superior value of English currency as compared with the native mediums of barter, manillas, brass rods, etc., and by their activity showed that for many years they would be probably the principal gainers in any increased trade which might result from their country having been thrown open to the delta traders."

The assets and liabilities show an excess of assets over liabilities of £178,517 as compared with £144,177, the corresponding excess shown in the same return for 1900-1901. This is likely to increase on all heads of revenue.

"The expansion of a wholesome trade will itself spread cultivation amongst the natives; the natives will also gradually become more cultivated through the influence of the increasing number of those educated in the

Protectorate schools. The most widespread, powerful, and rapidly acting influence tending to elevate the natives will, however, be found in the Native Councils, *provided the latter are constantly supervised by European officers*. The number of properly constituted and organized Native Councils is increasing, and this increase will be continuous. The increase in the number of Native Councils will necessarily involve an increase in the number of District Commissioners and Assistant District Commissioners, but the extra expenditure thus incurred will be relatively insignificant when compared with the increase in the revenue of the Protectorate."

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

1. *Bushido, the Soul of Japan: An Exposition of Japanese Thought*, by INAZO NITOBÉ, A.M., PH.D., Tokyo, Japan, 2562 (1902).

In this fascinating book of 109 pages, the author attempts to show his readers what moral instruction is instilled into the youth of Japan, although no actual religious instruction is given, and he does so very thoroughly, and proves that the code of ethics they are taught is a very high one.

Bushido signifies "Military Knight Ways" in literal translation, and may be most satisfactorily rendered as the "Precepts of Knighthood." The Bu-Shi were the knightly class, the Samurai, and "as among flowers the cherry is queen, so among men the Samurai is lord." The influence of the precepts, which were the guiding rule of life of the Samurai, became from the time of Yoritomo the ideal of the Japanese people. The origins of Bushido were various: Buddhism brought submission to the inevitable, Shintoism loyalty to the Sovereign and filial piety, and the study of Confucius and Mencius had a great deal of influence in forming the rules; for Bushido was not a religion, not an end, but a means to the attainment of wisdom, that the Chinese ideal of Wan Yang Ming, "To know and to act are one and the same," might be acquired.

Bushido lays great stress on Justice, *Gishi*, "a man of rectitude," being a title of respect, and on *Gi-ri*, the duty which follows the understanding of obligations; and when this duty threatened to become a tyranny, it was tempered by "daring and bravery" as well as "benevolence"; the latter included Bushi-no nasaké, "the tenderness of a warrior." Many of the dicta seem strangely familiar. Mencius says, "The feeling of distress is the note of benevolence"; and the Prince of Shirakawa, "Though they may wound your feelings, there are three you only have to forgive: the breeze that scatters your flowers, the cloud that hides your moon, and the man who tries to pick quarrels with you." Perhaps the most interesting portion of *Bushido* is the development of politeness. Politeness is not only a virtue, but one of the most important, though it is limited in its turn by others. "Propriety carried beyond the right limits," says Masamuné, "becomes a lie," and lies, in the military code, were (in theory at least) condemned, "the word of a Samurai" being equal to his bond. Yet the irreconcilable nature of perfect truth and politeness was recognised: "To sacrifice truth for the sake of politeness was regarded as an empty form (*Kyo-ré*) and deception by sweet words."

Honour was a virtue, and loyalty the primary duty before affection. Yet a "Nei-Shin," or sycophant, was despised. It was to loyalty that the training of a Samurai was directed, the chief supports being *Chi, Jin, Yu*—Wisdom, Benevolence, and Courage. Incidental stress was laid on two knightly qualities foreign to Western chivalry, *Jiu jutsu*—knowledge of anatomy, that one's opponent may be incapacitated, and caligraphy.

To this training the author ascribes the self-control of the Japanese, which is sparing of emotion both in pleasure and in grief. It is this that

makes a bereaved mother sing that her dead child has gone on his wonted butterfly hunt :

“ How far to-day in chase, I wonder,  
Has gone my hunter of the dragon-fly ”?;

and this self-control was the cause of *Hara Kiri*, or self-immolation by suicide, and the necessary restraint on the potent reverence of the sword of the Samurai.

The author deals with Bushido and the Japanese woman, but rather less happily. The statement that “ woman’s surrender of herself to the good of the home and family was as worthy and honourable as man’s self-surrender to the good of his lord and country ” does not sound to us quite convincing, though he is probably correct in stating that the real reverence of women was quite as strong as under the influence of chivalry, where “ the morality was coarse and gallantry implied illicit love.”

In conclusion, this most interesting book points out that these moral precepts permeate the whole of Japanese thought, that they have a vast influence on the whole life of the people, and that they are not antagonistic or likely to be displaced by the efforts of Christian missionaries ; and by explaining the thought of his own country he assuredly makes us understand better the causes of the charm, courtesy, and grace of the Japanese people.—F. S.

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CHAPMAN AND HALL, LIMITED ; LONDON, 1903.

2. *China Past and Present*, by EDWARD HARPER PARKER, Professor of Chinese at the Owens College, Manchester, formerly H.B.M. Consul at Kiungchow, author of “ China,” “ John Chinaman,” etc.

This volume by so great an authority on China and the Chinese is mostly a reprint of articles which have already appeared in publications such as the *Nineteenth Century*, *Cornhill Magazine*, the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, etc. The first chapter, containing a sketch of Chinese history, is quite new, and other articles have either been rewritten or recast. Mr. Parker in nine books, consisting of thirty-one chapters, deals with the “ Boxer ” wars, religion, Imperial power, the foreigner, Mandarin or official Celestial peculiarities, political and the seamy side. Much useful and entertaining information can be found in the work, which is accompanied by an index and a good map.

3. *Life and Sport in China*, by OLIVER G. READY.

This is a thoroughly frank and wholesome book of purely personal experience, without any attempt at “ side,” cleverness, or opinionism. I should be disposed to say that there was not a single new statement of fact in it from the first page to the last. On the other hand, I do not believe there is one single exaggeration or misstatement—at all events an inexcusable, careless, or intentional one—in the whole book. Mr. Ready was, though he does not tell us so, in the Maritime Customs service, and of course, therefore, his means for acquiring facts at first-hand were varied, various, and of the best. For the general public of “ ordinary men,” whose thirst for knowledge does not soar beyond the plain, straightforward, and commonplace, there could not be a better traveller’s book ; for it is light

to hold, light in style, humane, easy to understand, clearly printed, true to nature, and thoroughly local in its "China-hand" tone. Regarding the difficulty of procuring mares from the Mongols (p. 78), there are several mentions in the Mongol history of attempts to "rake in" all the mares procurable in China; the policy is a very ancient one. Touching the fishing with an otter (p. 107), I have seen probably the same Chinamen, certainly in exactly the same place, fishing from a boat with possibly that identical otter. As to catching with the hand fish lying torpid from the cold, I once myself accidentally caught a *samlai* fish weighing about 3 or 4 pounds whilst splashing about in the water during a freshet near Kewkiang, and this, moreover, without even intending to catch it. The "ghost-story" about the dying horse is a very good one, and it possesses the advantage of being perfectly true; it is satisfactory to notice, however, that the judicious author sensibly puts it down to coincidence, and does not attempt to labour the point. His views on missionaries are eminently just, sound, and sensible. The one point on which he is, perhaps, a little shaky, is that of knowledge of Chinese. At best the Customs men do not shine in this respect, for Sir Robert Hart has, from the beginning, made the fatal mistake (possibly in his own interest, but certainly not in the Chinese Government interest) of not insisting upon a couple of initiatory years at Peking for such service; it follows that few Customs men have ever got beyond the calibre of sound "hacks." It is true that no grown-up foreigner can ever talk quite like a native; but that is because no adult foreigner ever lives entirely with and like a native in all respects, and can therefore never get into the same train of thought about the same surroundings. Foreign children of four years old, living all day with ayahs, speak Chinese with absolute perfection, and they would also write with the brush properly if they were bred up to do so like the Chinese boys. Quite a number of Europeans write correctly, but it is not worth their while to waste time over a brush. As to composing documents, this has been done, but few are equal to it. It is nonsense to talk (p. 222) about there being 100,000 Chinese characters: the utmost is 40,000, of which 25,000 are practically obsolete, repetitions, fanciful, variants, or totally useless. In historical matters the Chinese book knowledge possessed by foreigners may be, and is, far ahead of that of any Chinese in existence. The most learned Chinese is totally unable to understand clearly the valuable Chinese histories of the Turks, the Ephthalites, the Cambodgians, the Mongols, or even the Japanese, Koreans, and Annamese. On the other hand, few, if any, foreigners can "compose" for examination; the reason is because the subjects are twaddle, pure and simple. It might as well be said that Lord Kelvin could not preach as well as a common Welsh Methodist *parch*.—E. H. PARKER.

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ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK; LONDON, 1903.

4. *The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi*, by STANLEY A. COOK, M.A.

This is a highly valuable contribution to the knowledge of the subject of which it treats. An idea of the nature and scope of the work may be

gathered from the author's own words. "The chief aim of the present study," he writes, "is to provide a full account of the contents of the recently-discovered Babylonian Code of Laws promulgated in the twenty-third century before Christ by Hammurabi—the King whose name has been identified with Amraphel, the contemporary of Abraham (see Gen. xiv. 1). The fact that it is the oldest collection of Laws in existence, and the advanced state of culture which Babylonia had reached, even at that remote period, make the Code one of the most notable discoveries in the history of cuneiform research; and the great interest which it has succeeded in arousing is evinced by the rapidly-growing number of monographs, pamphlets, and articles which have lately appeared in print. To jurists and students of comparative Law this Code has, by reason of its antiquity, an importance surpassing that of similar collections from India, Greece, or Rome." The book is very elaborate as regards execution, and is altogether a work for the learned. Besides a most useful "General Index," there are also, at the end, two other Indexes—the one an Index to the Code itself, and the other an Index to the Bible-passages, from the Old Testament and from the New, cited in the course of the work. All such references will be found most helpful to the usefulness of the work. Altogether it is a neat and handy volume of a little over 300 pages. It is admirably printed, and there are learned and up-to-date notes at the foot of the page throughout the work.—B.

W. THACKER AND CO.; 2, CREED LANE, LONDON, E.C., AND  
CALCUTTA, 1903.

5. *A Digest of Anglo-Muhammadan Law*, by SIR ROLAND KNYVET WILSON, LL.M., etc.; second edition.

This is the most important work on the subject of Muhammadan Law of which we have any knowledge. It is introduced by a historical and descriptive account of the special rules nowadays applicable to Muhammadans as such by the Civil Courts of British India, with full references to modern and ancient authorities. This, the second edition, is revised and much enlarged. Works on this subject require to be often re-issued, owing to the new developments that are ever and anon occurring in the cases that come before the Courts. The various "rulings" in the different causes require that such works should be brought up to date. A list of the "rulings" in cases that have been brought before the Courts since 1895 is given in the Preface; and such a list alone would be sufficient to render a re-issue of the work necessary to students of Muhammadan Law. It is, in fact, a work for lawyers, especially Indian lawyers, and it contains legal principles and precedents innumerable. Besides the Table of Contents, we have yet another table containing a large number of "cases" alphabetically arranged. The Index at the end contains references not so much to "cases" as to facts and details of a more general and comprehensive nature which come in for mention in the course of the work. Altogether, this is a work which members of the Indian Courts and the Indian Civil Service, and all who are concerned with the administration of law in India, whether there or here, will find it necessary to possess.—B.

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO. ; LONDON, NEW YORK, AND BOMBAY, 1903.

6. *The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, by the late PROFESSOR MAX MÜLLER.

This work forms volume xix. of the collected works of the distinguished German scholar who lately was removed from us. It has already, in the former edition, been reviewed in these pages, and it therefore needs not anything now by way of lengthy notice ; while to all who are acquainted with the writings of the great *savant*, his name will be a sufficient guarantee for sound workmanship. As to the subject of the volume—the “*Shaṭa Darshana Darpana*” (or “*Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*”)—all who are acquainted with the classical literature of the Hindús are already informed respecting the place and importance of the said systems in the thought of cultured Hindús. The present issue contains nothing new or additional from the pen of Max Müller himself, but a brief note introducing this issue is prefixed from the pen of Mrs. Max Müller. It is a neat and presentable volume of 360 pages, followed by a good Index.—B.

LUZAC AND CO. ; LONDON, 1903.

7. *The History of Philosophy in Islam*, by Dr. T. J. DE BOER, University of Groningen. Translated by EDWARD R. JONES, B.D.

In dealing with this subject, the writer divides it into a series of chapters, the sections of which are carefully noted in the beginning of the work under each of the chapter-headings. Although the work is included in a little more than 200 pages, yet the field of view is immense, and altogether the work is a marvel of comprehensiveness and condensation. It is not, as works on Islámic subjects so often are, a controversial work ; it will, however, be found to be a quarry from which materials of controversy may be dug. It is, as we believe, the most useful work of its kind that has ever yet appeared in our language, and it will undoubtedly be found to be of the greatest possible value to missionaries, historians, and all students of subjects relating to the Arabians of sub-Islámic times.—B.

GEORGE ALLEN ; LONDON,

8. *In Russian Turkestan*, by ANNETTE M. B. MEAKIN.

This is a pleasant and well-written book of personal experience, without any pretence to exact history, up-to-date science, or profound learning. Like most books upon Turkestan, it opens with a discussion of the words “*Sart*,” “*Tajik*,” and “*Usbeg*,” which seem, however, to be rather inconsistently used by the author in some places, and to overlap in each other’s supposed exact significations without adding any new light. The first practical thing that strikes the reader is the unmistakable benefit which the Russian occupation, despite its many short-comings and corruptions, has conferred upon these once fanatical Khanates. Very remarkable, indeed, is the new cotton industry, more especially in Merv and Namaghan—old enough in itself, forsooth, for it was from Turkestan that the Chinese first received not only cotton, but also grapes, water-melons, and lucerne, all of which still bear foreign names in the Chinese language—but new in the

sense that an impetus has been given to cotton-growing by the introduction of spinning and other machinery. Not only is cotton from American seed now displacing the beautiful local silk, but, if the Russians only know how to play their cards well, they may yet succeed in competing with America for the Manchester market.

Touching social customs, the author (p. 139) says: "Polyandry does exist in some parts of Central Asia, but not in Turkestan." It is quite possible that polyandry may have died out in the Oxus Valley, but there are three distinct and detailed Chinese descriptions of its existence in Tokhara (Marco Polo's Dogana) in the sixth century—*i.e.*, in the very region visited by Miss Meakin; and no Chinese mention of the custom *in any other part* of Central Asia occurs in standard history, so far as I know.

On p. 95 allusion is made to the flatness of Sart heads at the back, and the author informs us, on the authority of a Russian medical man, that keeping babies on their backs for hours at a time on a hard cotton quilt is the cause of this peculiarity; but in an added note she makes allusion to "head-shaping in the Punjaub," and expresses some doubt as to the correctness of her previous judgment touching Turkestan. As a matter of fact, head-shaping by the Sarts is several times mentioned in Chinese history, notably in the instances of Kashgar and Kutchá 1,200 years ago; moreover, the Tunguses and Koreans both used to flatten their babies' heads artificially. Both polyandry and head-shaping are probably Tartar customs introduced by the Ephthalites or Turko-Tibetan-Huns.

The sixteen full-page illustrations are of an excellent quality, and give us very vivid notions of these sunny, dry, fruity, itchy, freezing, and intolerant climes, where women's rights are next to *nil*, and women's freedom is quite *nil*. Many of the etymological derivations suggested—as, for instance, in the words Dungan, Kirghiz, Kokand, Uzbeg, etc.—are more original than seriously scientific. In only one instance does a French quotation occur—"Il*s sont si sàlles*"—which can hardly be a compositor's or reader's fault, for there are practically no other mistakes in punctuation, grammar, or type throughout the whole work. On the whole, the book is decidedly a good and honest one.—E. H. PARKER.

CASSELL AND CO., LIMITED; LONDON, PARIS, NEW YORK, AND  
MELBOURNE, 1903.

9. *Li Hung-chang: His Life and Times*, by Mrs. ARCHIBALD LITTLE.  
Price 15s.

Mrs. Little is too well known to need introduction or recommendation. Of the present book it may safely be said that it will add to her reputation in the minds of those who read it through. The old story of Gordon and the gory head of the surrendered Taiping prince is told again with more wealth of detail than usual; the mere fact of the gallant soldier "weeping hysterically" with the reeking head in his hand partly explains why he never exactly "caught on" as a leader of genuine Tommy Atkinses. Brave, virtuous, and enthusiastic as the people's hero undoubtedly was, he was far too emotional for most of the matter-of-fact and



work-a-day purposes of British life, and the present writer had ample proof of this fact on the only occasion on which he met him. He was not a "safe" man; he was cut out to be a Mahomet rather than a Julius Caesar.

Mrs. Little's is essentially a woman's book, from the dedication right down to the index (which only covers six pages)—that is to say, a woman's point of view, a woman's method of expression, a woman's sense of proportion—each runs riot, and is manifest in every line. To many this tragic style will appear all the more advantageous, and will appeal to their imagination and sympathy. A more virile method would discard the history of all the heart-searchings, motives, scruples, "feelin's," etc., that actuated this or that character in the Chinese drama, and go straight to the historical point. But in so doing the imprudent member of the coarser sex would probably reduce the bulk of his book by three-quarters, and would certainly reduce his mass of human sympathy, according to present English standards, by perhaps one-half. For instance, the blood-curdling picture of that "remorseless woman," the old Empress, would lose much of its dramatic savour were it deprived of all the "it is said" which go to make it up into one fairly consistent whole. As a matter of fact, she is not (from the above-mentioned virile point of view) one whit worse, as a mere mortal, than the average crowned head in modern Europe; and the "poor young dead girl" she is supposed to have murdered is by no means a historical "fact." Even if she was got rid of, suicide, even forced suicide, is a political virtue in China; and as to murder, the ruling families of more than one Slav nation have State secrets of their own just as dramatic, and even more sordid. The fact is, the Chinese were a very happy nation, well contented with the very best dynasty they ever had, until we saintly Europeans appeared upon the scene with our opium, our guns, and our bibles.

Any man may be made by his biographer to look either like a hero or like a scoundrel, and this without deliberately misrepresenting proved and plain facts; all depends upon the "psychological subjectivity" of the biographer. To read the "lives" the missionaries write of each other, one would think them all John the Baptists, minus even the wild honey. Personally, I knew Li Hung-chang, and must have read most of his State papers during the last thirty years of his life. To me he was a man of high literary, but very ordinary "human" capacity, able chiefly in the fields of gerrymandering, speculation, and intrigue. To crown all, it seems to be chiefly due to his blundering spite and careless corruption that China first seriously damaged herself by engaging, unprepared, in war with Japan; and, secondly, sold herself, "body and soul," to Russia, so far as Li Hung-chang was able to rig the thimbles.

Turning now from the wily old statesman himself to the charming personality of his biographer, I find before me a genuine Chinese document composed by the really able and honest Viceroy, Ts'ên Ch'un-süan, now at Canton, but formerly (with Mrs. Little) in Sz Ch'wan. He says, in reference to Mrs. Archibald Little's admirable "squeezed foot" crusade: "Just as once upon a time in America a single unprotected female, *P'i-ch'a*

(Beecher), roused the conscience of the nation by a stirring book on slavery ('Uncle Tom's Cabin'), so does this fair creature, Dame Lih, *née* Pêh (Little, *née* Bewicke), fairly arouse the conscience of long-benighted China upon the subject of 'tootsicums.' I take much more interest in Mrs. Little than I do in Li Hung-chang, for (amongst other reasons) I know less of her. "Albrecht Wirtts" (p. 350) is Dr. A. Wirth in disguise. —E. H. PARKER.

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"CHRONICLE" OFFICE; KOBÉ, JAPAN.

10. *A History of Japan (During the Century of Early Foreign Intercourse, 1542-1651)*, by JAMES MURDOCH, M.A.

The cover of this fine volume of over 700 pages (price £1) bears the above title, minus the important qualifying words in brackets. For the majority of European readers, especially in these busy days, the history of Japan, in fact, practically begins with the organization of the country during the century in question—*i.e.*, it begins with the relations between Japan and Europe. Previous to that there are 1,000 years of Chinese civilization, without external relations of any political importance, except, perhaps, with Corea; and previous to that, again, 600 years during which the congeries of Japanese and Ainu tribelets were more or less known to the Chinese governors of what we now call Chih Li and Chêh Kiang, and to no one else. As to the supposed Japanese history anterior to the introduction of Chinese writing and civilization, I have fully set forth the truth in volume xxii. of the *China Review*, pp. 60-74.

At the present moment, when the brave Japanese nation, "conscious of its historic mission," which is in no way less worthy of our sympathy and respect than that of Russia, stands nobly forward to encounter, single-handed, the insatiable Northern Colossus, Mr. Murdoch's admirable work appears most opportunely. Based, as it is, upon original documentary evidence, and upon personal experience of the scenes and sites described, it at once secures our complete confidence, and securely enables us to trace, step by step, the evolution of this astonishingly virile race from exclusive feudalism into a genuine *Weltmacht*. From first to last the book is replete with European interest, so that the timid English reader need not fear being confronted on every page with unsympathetic ideas. He will be much more profitably employed in reading this book than in wasting his time upon Hall Caine's or Marie Corelli's imaginative works—how the Portuguese discovered Japan; the introduction and vicissitudes of Christianity; the career of the Japanese Napoleon, Hideyoshi; the Tokugawn administration system (Shōgūnate); the English Factory; Will Adams; the Portuguese and Dutch rivalries; and the deliberate completion of the exclusion programme (which lasted until forty-five years ago). It will be observed that the history under notice does not deal with contemporary times, but simply sets out, in an absolutely authentic way, the particulars of *how* the Japanese developed into what they were when we first "found them" and had open and general relations with them in 1858. With all their faults, physical and moral, they are probably the most dynamic, patient, persistent, self-sacrificing, patriotic, chivalrous, and; it

must be added, vain people in existence. In view of their quality of bravery alone, England may be proud to have them as political allies, and it cannot be doubted that within the next decade the Japanese will force the proudest of our Western "proprietary powers" to recognise their full political and social equality. Failing this, they are themselves proud and gallant enough to perish in the attempt, if necessary, to a man. No library worthy of the name should be without this book.—E. H. PARKER.

HARPER AND BROTHERS; LONDON AND NEW YORK, 1903.

11. *In the Uttermost East*, by CHARLES H. HAWES.

This work, as its secondary title shows, is an account of investigations among the natives and the Russian convicts of Sakhalien, and contains, as well, interesting notes and illustrations of what the author saw during his travels in Korea, Manchuria, and Siberia, and as such is worthy of much praise. As the author himself says, "Books on Siberia fall into two classes, the older into 'exile literature,' and the more recent into 'Siberian railway sketches,'" and he in some sort has combined parts of each. The book is particularly valuable just now, when every eye is directed on the Far East, giving, as it does, a satisfactory account of the inhospitable and little-known island of Sakhalien and its convict settlements, and much that is new about the aboriginal tribes, the Orochons, the Tungus, and the Gilyaks, and their manners and customs.

Travelling through Korea to Vladivostok, the author went from there up the Amur—he gives an account of the massacre of the Chinese by the Russians at Blagovestchensk on pp. 37-41—and thence to Sakhalien, to which island he devotes fifteen out of the twenty-three chapters of the book.

Sakhalien has hardly been explored until recently, even by its nearest neighbours, the Japanese. It appears under the name of "Karafto" in one of their maps made shortly after 1613, and it became known thirty years later to the Dutch captain, Martin Vries, during his search for a legendary "Gout en Silverycke Eylant." In 1640 the Russians knew of it by hearsay, then in 1709 the Jesuit Fathers were able to describe it; yet as late as 1846 the Russian Gevrilov still regarded it as a peninsula, and it was not until three years later that its insularity was proved by Captain Nevelsky.

In 1875 the Japanese gave up their claim to a portion of the island in exchange for the Kurile archipelago, and since then Russia has owned the whole, and has made it the penal settlement for her least reclaimable convicts, the importation of whom commenced in 1858.

Of the penal colonies in Sakhalien Mr. Hawes has much to tell. He recognises the natural beauty of the island, but does not forget the ordinary prisoner's "hard labour"; and while he does not wish to exaggerate the horrors of the convicts' perpetual exile, he cannot help painting a very sombre picture of their life. The governors of the prisons are often arbitrary and brutal; the punishments of the *knout* and the *plet*, along with the "chained prison," exist; convict "civil marriage" or concubinage between the male prisoners—many of them murderers—and any female criminal who, her sentence not being less than two years, has been sent to

Sakhalien, is encouraged. Martial law exists on the island, so that the death penalty is legal there, though it is not in the rest of Russia. Mr. Hawes gives many tales of prisoners, told with sympathy, and speaks with force of the immorality and the sadness prevailing throughout the island, and praises in no mean terms the philanthropic work of Miss de Mayer, who, in spite of much opposition, has contrived to bring a ray of light into the convict life in Sakhalien.

Intending originally during his travels to examine the Ainu and their customs, the writer gives us many observations on the aboriginal tribes of Sakhalien. He says much of the Orochons, a Tungus tribe who have shown some advance in civilization, and have become members of the Orthodox Church, and of the Gilyaks, who "possess the hairless faces of the Mongol," and are at first sight much like the American Indians, though some, perhaps, have intermingled with the Ainu. He tells us a great amount of ethnographic lore that is new and valuable. In Chapter XI, e.g., he gives an account of the Bear Festival, the winter lête of the Gilyaks, originally a religious procession, in which the Bear of the tribe, captured young and fed up to the age of four, is led out, bound, tempted with forest berries, and then is carefully killed by the Gilyaks with every kind of ceremony.

Leaving Sakhalien, Mr. Hawes returned to Vladivostok, where he believed that "officially" the Manchurian railway was to be opened next day. However, he found that it was "neither officially opened nor even completed," and he decided, without waiting for permission, to go by the railway as far as he could towards the Frontier. He describes the bad laying of the railway which took him thither, and his careful incognito. From the Frontier he traversed Manchuria, and then, finally crossing Trans-Baikalia, he arrived in Moscow, and was able to issue later, in due course, a very attractive account of his travels for our perusal.—F. S.

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JOHN MURRAY; ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, 1903.

12. *The Autobiography of Lieutenant-General Sir Harry Smith, Bart., G.C.B., of Aliwal, on the Sutlej*, edited by G. C. MOORE-SMITH, M.A. The siege of Ladysmith in 1900 drew Mr. Moore-Smith's attention to this fascinating autobiography, which, until then, had remained unpublished in the hands of Sir E. A. Holdich, and we cannot but feel grateful to him for having put it before us in printed form, as it contains some of the best rapid sketches of the Peninsular campaign we know.

Sir Harry Smith served his country in four continents. He was born in 1787, and entered the army in 1804. In 1806 he served at the siege of Monte Video, and returned home in 1807, only to be ordered off to Spain in the next year. From that time, except when invalided home after Corunna, he remained with the army throughout the whole of the Peninsular War. His racy style of writing makes his reminiscences differ much from the ordinary war memoirs, for while recounting fully the horrors of the campaign—and they were many—he lets us see his keen joy in a fight, his care of his men, love of his comrades, and his fondness for sport, to the

extent of coursing hares before a battle began. It was at the age of twenty-four, just after the terrible storming of Badajos, that the happiest period of Smith's life began. A young Spanish girl, who had lost everything in the war, was entrusted to his care by her sister, and this child of fourteen, Juana de Leon, became his wife. This union was an ideal one; they had no thoughts except for each other, and thirty years later he wrote: "From that day to this she has been my guardian angel." Juana became the pet of the regiment and of the Duke of Wellington. Her husband taught her to ride, and it is delightful to think of her exciting life even during the terrible war. Smith writes on the day of the Battle of Salamanca: "It is difficult to say who was the proudest on the morning of the battle, horse, wife, or Enrique, as I was always called." Her old groom West, "as the battle began, took her to the rear, much to her annoyance," and at night she slept on the field of battle on a bed made of green wheat then just in full ear, though "she had to hold her horse all night; and he ate all her bed of green wheat, to her juvenile amusement." But we must not linger too long over their adventures in Spain. Smith served under Tackenharn in the sad New Orleans expedition, and returned in time for Waterloo, of the horrors of which he gives a telling description. "I had been over many a field of battle, but with the exception of one spot at New Orleans, and the breach of Badajos, I had never seen anything to be compared with what I saw at Waterloo; the *whole* field from right to left was a mass of dead bodies." After Waterloo, which made the writer a C.B., we have a glimpse of gaiety—fox-hunting—and revelry in prostrate France, and in 1818 are told of the sad discharge of the Peninsular veterans. Commands in Britain followed, and then Smith, with his devoted wife, left in 1825 for Nova Scotia.

Jamaica saw him next, and then, in 1829, he became Deputy Quarter-master-General at the Cape of Good Hope, took part in the Kaffir War, and did a great deal towards the advance of the now non-extant "Province of Queen Adelaide." In 1840 Harry Smith was made Adjutant-General of the Queen's troops in India, and as such was one of the great leaders in the Sikh War, and Thackeray wrote of his account of the Battle of Aliwal (where he won his baronetcy), "A nobler deed was never told in nobler language."

With Aliwal and Sobraon the delightful autobiography itself ceases, but Mr. Moore-Smith gives a skilful account of the remainder of Sir Harry Smith's career, and narrates his administration of Cape Colony during his governorship from 1847 to 1852, which included the trying period of war of the Orange River Sovereignty, and his home commands during the evening of his life, for this gallant soldier lived on until 1860, and his devoted wife, whose name remains in Ladysmith, until 1872.—F. S.

LUZAC AND CO.; 46, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, 1903.

13. *The Army of the Indian Moghuls: its Organization and Administration*, by WILLIAM IRVINE, late Bengal Civil Service. This book is a mine of curious information, collected with great labour and pains from recondite sources; and it deals with a subject of supreme importance to the student

of that period of Indian history which immediately preceded the British domination of the country. Upon this point the opening sentences of the author's final chapter are well worth attention :

"The war organization of the Moghul Empire offers something more than a mere antiquarian interest. The more I study the period, the more I am convinced that military inefficiency was the principal, if not the sole, cause of that Empire's final collapse. All other defects and weaknesses were as nothing in comparison with this. . . . It is a curious problem, then, to consider what causes could have led to the military decrepitude of a monarchy which had been founded and maintained by its military prestige. How came it to pass that what had been gained by the sword was at length to perish by the sword?"

It is a pity that the facts which the author has accumulated in his extensive research should not have been presented in a somewhat more attractive form. The book well deserves to be studied by those who take an interest in its subject, but it has not any of those felicities of style and arrangement which might have made it studied for its own sake. The gist of it will, it is hoped, be incorporated in a history of the Moghul Empire which the author has in hand, and may then, perhaps, take a more distinctly literary form. In its present shape it consists to a great extent of rough notes (some of them very baldly expressed) grouped together under arbitrary headings, without any consideration for chronological sequence. If we date the commencement of the Moghul Empire from the victory of Bāber at Panipat in 1526, and take the other great battle of Panipat in 1761, with which Elphinstone concludes his history of India, as the date of its close, it lasted for fully 235 years, and during that time many changes in the administration of its military affairs must necessarily have occurred. There must have been periods of initiation, of development, and of decay. In reading Mr. Irvine's volume, one is never quite certain from page to page with which period he is dealing. The rules seem to belong to an early age, and the examples to a later, or *vice versa*. Thus, in Chapter V., dealing with the verification of recruits and horses, the first paragraph illustrates the necessity of the practice by a quotation from an author who wrote in A.D. 1787 about the state of the army in Bengal in 1750, when an officer receiving pay for 1,700 men could not muster more than seventy or eighty. The next paragraph begins (as if Akbar were a hero of the eighteenth century): "It was to put down these evil practices that Akbar revived, and enforced more strictly than before, a system of descriptive rolls of men and horses, etc." As a matter of fact, so far as the "Moghul army in India" was concerned, it was Akbar who introduced the system in the sixteenth century, and in 1750 the army in Bengal could hardly have been reckoned by the Moghul Emperor of the day as a part of his own forces. In the next paragraph, for illustration of one of the details of Akbar's system, we have a quotation from Orme, who wrote of the time when the French and English were striving for the mastery in Southern India.

Errors in the transliteration of Persian and Hindustani words may seem a small matter to carp at; but a few changes, such as *khil'at* for *khila't*,

inām for inā'm, siyar for siyar, 'amal for 'aml, tabar for tabr, and muta'akhhirin with five syllables for mutākharin with four, would be decided emendations. When Persian poetry is quoted, one may reasonably expect that it should be reproduced so as to scan. This is not the case in the first line of the couplet on p. 127, in the third line on p. 109, and the second line on p. 66. In the latter instance a long vowel, probably the Persian *izāfat*, is required after the word "akhtar"; but if an *izāfat* be supplied, the translation must be modified. Mr. Irvine has corrected some amusing mistakes of the writers whom he quotes, occasioned by their ignorance of the language, but appears not to have avoided a pitfall himself when he says on p. 197 that the large tent constructed by Shahjehan's orders bore the name of Dil-bādil, which he translates "Generous heart." This name is surely a misreading (pardonable enough) of the picturesque Hindi term "dalbādal" (*lit.* a mass of clouds on the horizon), so commonly used to describe a tent of great size, or a number of tents joined together. The word is to be found in Platts' Hindustani Dictionary, which ought by this time to have superseded all the others—at all events, in the libraries of scholars; and the present writer heard it applied by his own servants to Lord Lytton's camp at Delhi in January, 1877. The translation of the Hindi verses quoted at p. 206 requires considerable revision. It will probably be found that the concluding two words of the last couplet but one are really a single word, "dini-ara" (the sun), which has no connection whatever with the Muhammadan war cry of "Din." Certainly the word "manu" and its sister form "manahu," which occur repeatedly in the latter halves of the couplets, do not mean "*men*" nor "*hearts*," but are abbreviations of the word "māno"—*i.e.*, "you may suppose," used like our "as if" in introducing a simile.—W.

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SMITH, ELDER AND CO. ; LONDON, 1903.

14. *The Masked Tawareks*, by W. J. HARDING KING, F.R.G.S., etc. The enterprising traveller went in search of these desert-bound people, and he gives us in this volume a map of the route he took. The epithet "masked" is applied to them because of their curious practice of muffling up their faces. After all the trouble he had taken to discover them in their natural whereabouts, he had considerable doubt as to whether he would be able to see their faces or to prevail upon any of them to unveil; for "a Tawarek practically never removes his mask. He considers it grossly immodest to let his face be seen, even by the members of his own family. He accordingly keeps it continually concealed by his 'litham.' He lives in it, he sleeps in it; and even when eating or drinking he never removes it, but merely draws it away from the lower part of his face, and passes the food or cup up to his mouth from beneath it." The abode of these strange people is far away to the south of Algeria, in the trackless wastes of the Sahara Desert. It is extraordinary how little is known about these wild and dreaded raiders. A mystery seems to brood over them. No one as yet knows who they are or whence they came. Their religion is a kind of corrupt Muhammadanism rather than anything else. Some incline to the

opinion that they were originally a Christian race, and that they were confused and corrupted in the earlier centuries of the Muhammadan conquests. Nor does their language afford much light on the subject. They have a written language, and in different places there are rock-inscriptions of old date. The letters, as to the origin of which there is much diversity of opinion, appear to be traceable, in part at least, to the ancient Greek, which appears to have come into the Sahara through the Libyan Desert. The primal language of these strange people appears to have been a mixture of Greek and Phœnician; but there is with their spoken tongue a considerable mixture of low Arabic. The art of writing exists among them, but in a very crude and unsettled form, and it is evidently known to but few of them. For what has hitherto been ascertained regarding the Tawareks, the greatest possible credit is due to the bravery and enterprise of French travellers and scholars, such as Hanoteau, Bissuel, Duveyrier, and Mercier. The most recent in this *terra incognita* is our present author, who has written a book from personal observation and first-hand knowledge. The work is contained in upwards of 330 pages, and is illustrated with more than forty photogravures. The work is well printed, and has a fairly good index; but table of contents there is none—a deficiency which may be supplied in a later edition.—B.

CALMANN-LEVY; PARIS, 3, RUE AUBER, 1903.

15. *L'Inde*, by PIERRE LOTI, of the Academie Française.

The gifted author divides his extremely interesting book into six parts, bearing the following headings: (1) On the Way to India; (2) In Ceylon; (3) With the Maharajah of Travancore; (4) In the India of the Great Palms; (5) In Famine-stricken India; and (6) Benares. His description of India and Indian life is very vivid and charming, and is quite unique in its style, be it that of the India of Islam or the India of Hinduism. We can cordially recommend the book to our readers.

THE LINSOTT PUBLISHING COMPANY; TORONTO AND PHILADELPHIA.  
W. AND R. CHAMBERS, LTD.; LONDON AND EDINBURGH, 1903.

16. *The Progress of British Empire in the Century*, by J. STANLEY LITTLE, author of "My Royal Father," "What is Art," "A World Empire," "South Africa," "The United States of Britain," "A Vision of Empire," etc.

A useful volume of the "Nineteenth Century Series." The writer has correctly stated in his preface that the present time is appropriate to sum up the progress of the British Empire, since it is manifest that "Great and Greater Britain have arrived at a supreme moment of their national existence"—considering the help and co-operation of our various colonies wherever or whenever help is needed. Current events show that this consolidation is being gradually cemented and strengthened against any Power that may attack us. It is therefore of the utmost importance to embrace the opportunity which this work affords of perusing an accurate history of the various steps and agencies by which this has been accomplished. The author points out the various mistakes committed by our



statesmen in the past by their indifference, gross ignorance, and even hostilities, as some of them have said, "Cut the painter and let them go." All this has now changed, and his work will tend more and more to advance the unity and prosperity of "a united Empire." We regret, however, that the author has omitted to mention the names of the pioneers of the Colonial Institute, such as Dr. Eddy, Mr. R. G. Haliburton, Mr. Ravington, and others. The volume contains a very minute and copious index.

17. *The Progress of Australasia in the Nineteenth Century*, by T. A. COGHAN, Honorary Fellow of the Royal Statistical Society, Statistician of New South Wales, and T. T. EWING, Member of the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, with which are incorporated, by permission of the Government of New South Wales and the other principal colonies, certain statistics and other matter prepared for the official publications. The title-page alone indicates the value of this reliable work, written by so well-known statisticians as Mr. Coghlan and Mr. Ewing. The first part is introductory and general; the second part, "New South Wales," is embraced in eight chapters; the third part, "Victoria," also in eight chapters; the fourth part, "Queensland," in four chapters; the fifth part, "South Australia," in two chapters; the sixth part, "Tasmania," in four chapters; the seventh part, "Western Australia," in four chapters; the eighth part, on "Industrial Periods," in eight chapters; and the ninth part, "Australasia of To-day," in three chapters. There is also a chronological index "to events in Australasia." The work, for accuracy, is invaluable.

JOHN MURRAY; ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, 1903.

18. *Sixteen Years in Siberia: Some Experiences of a Russian Revolutionist*, by LEO DEUTSCH. Translated by HELEN CHESHOLM. With illustrations. The work contains an admirable preface by the translator, in which she says: "The author of the following narrative is a leader in the Russian revolutionary movement. The German transliteration of his name is given here as being the form he himself uses in Western Europe; but he is called 'Deuc' in the English version of Stepniak's 'Underground Russia,' which was translated from the Italian, retaining the Italian transliteration of names. A more exact rendering of the Russian would be Deitch, the 'ei' pronounced somewhat as in the English word 'rein.'" The translator gives in her preface a short history, or sketch, of the revolutionist movement in Russia, and its development and position at the present time. The work is profusely illustrated by representations of persons and places, reproductions of photographs taken from life. The narrative itself must be read as from a revolutionary student exiled for possessing literature which he intended to circulate surreptitiously throughout Russia, whose veracity the reader must judge for himself.

HODDER AND STOUGHTON; 27, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, 1903.

19. *Impressions of Indian Travel*, by OSCAR BROWNING. The author, in a very racy style, gives his impressions of a short visit to India in search

of health. He had special opportunities of discussing questions of much importance now occupying the attention of the Government. His conclusion is: "It is difficult to imagine a machinery by which the Government of India might be transferred, even partially, to the hands of the Indian people. If that is impossible, and the Congress has not discovered a manner in which it might be introduced, we are thrown back upon the personal government of the Viceroy, advised by his Council and controlled by the India Office. If personal government is to exist at all, it must be strong, or its weakness will result in misery to the governed. I cannot imagine anyone engaged in a more beneficent course of action than a Viceroy of India, who devotes all his talents and energy to the good of the people over whom he is set."

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CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY; SALISBURY SQUARE, LONDON, E.C.

20. *The Missions of the Church Missionary Society and the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society of the Punjab and Sindh*, by the late Rev. ROBERT CLARK, M.A. Edited and revised by ROBERT MACONACHIE, late L.C.S. The first edition of this work was published in 1885. Mr. Clark in 1899 sent the copy for a second and revised edition, omitting some portions, adding new matter, and bringing the history of the different branches of the mission up to date. At Mr. Clark's death (May 16, 1900) the whole responsibility of editing the present edition fell to Mr. Maconachie, who has executed his task with remarkable ability. The record of the success and progress of the mission is both interesting and valuable. The book is illustrated with a portrait of the revered missionary, whose labours extended to nearly half a century, and also with the portraits of distinguished Christian rulers of the Punjab, some of the prominent Punjab missionaries, notable converts, and other interesting reminiscences. There are also maps of the Mohammedan lands of the East and of the Punjab, with appendices. We cordially recommend the work to all who are interested in promoting the best interests of India.

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T. FISHER UNWIN; PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON.

21. *Labour and Other Questions in South Africa: Being mainly Considerations on the Rational and Profitable Treatment of the Coloured Races living there*, by INDICUS. The author, "who has large business interests in India," having made a tour in South Africa, has given his impressions, largely based on "a record of facts observed by himself and of conversations with persons of diverse races and various political views." The author states that he "lost no opportunity of obtaining and recording the opinions of anyone who appeared to have real opportunities of gauging the feelings of the inhabitants, white or black, or who had such experience of the country as enabled him to speak with any semblance of authority on past events, or to indicate the best policy for the future." The last chapter of the work (XII.) gives a summary of the author's conclusions, to which we would invite the earnest attention of our readers, especially those respecting the "Labour Question."

## OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

*The Duties of the Heart*, by RABBI BACHYE ; translated, with an introduction, by EDWIN COLLINS (The Orient Press, Fleet Street, London, 1904). This is a small book of forty-eight pages, being a translation of Bachye's "Guide to the Duties of the Heart," and deals with such subjects as "The Highest Good," "The Gates of Knowledge," "The Ethics of the Body and of the Soul," and such-like topics. The original was the first work that linked the ethical science of the West with the emotional and spiritual morality of the East. "It combines," as Mr. Collins tells us, "in an artistic unity, elements drawn from the philosophy and contemplative mysticism of the Arabs, from Biblical and Rabbinic Judaism, and from Greek thought." It is a learned work of mysticism, and much of its value to English readers will be found in the valuable footnotes which go through it and in the discriminating diagnosis embodied in the introduction.—B.

To that same series, "The Wisdom of the East," belongs another booklet of the same size, *The Odes of Confucius*, rendered into English by L. Cranmer-Byng, and issued from the same Press, 1904. This also is translated into English metre of different kinds, and is likewise preceded by an introduction, in which an interesting account is given of Confucius and his philosophy. It is impossible to read these odes without forming a very exalted conception of the thought and piety of this great mystic of the ancient time.—B.

*Stanford's Map of the Siberian Railway, the Great Land Route to China and Korea* (Edward Stanford, 12, 13, and 14, Long Acre, London, W.C., December, 1903). This is a well got-up map in colours, measuring 42 inches by 27 inches, showing the route taken by the railway between Moscow and the termini of Vladivostock and Port Arthur in the Far East. The Transcaspian line is also shown running through Merv, Bokhara, Samarcand, Khojand to Kokand, and the projected line from the latter terminus to the Chinese province of Kansuh. The southern part includes parts of North-East Persia, North Afghanistan, Chitral, the desert of Gobi, and the Chinese provinces of Kansuh, Shensi, and Kuang-Su. It will prove useful to refer to during the present struggle between Russia and Japan, showing as it does a part of the Japanese Empire and Korea ; also *A Map of Part of Tibet*, including Sikkim, the Chumbi Valley, and Bhutan, showing the routes between Darjiling and Lhasa, January, 1904. Scale, 8 miles to an inch.

*Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, showing the Operations, Expenditure, and Condition of the Institution for the Year ending June 30, 1901 ; also Report of the U.S. National Museum* (Washington : Government Printing Office, 1903). This valuable compilation is rich in illustrations of a great variety of objects. Those relating to Indian tribes of the Purus River, Brazil, are especially interesting.

*The Englishwoman's Year-Book and Directory*, 1904. Sixth year of new issue. Edited by EMILY JANES, Organizing Secretary of the National Union of Women Workers of Great Britain and Ireland. Twenty-fourth

year (London: Adam and Charles Black). This is a *vade-mecum* to every lady interested in literature, education, employments, professions, industries, and various other subjects tending towards the advancement and welfare of the female population of our country. It also includes a short summary of the events of the year, an obituary, a calendar, and a useful directory to a variety of subjects.

*Among the Tibetans*, by ISABELLA L. BISHOP, F.R.G.S., author of "Unbeaten Tracks in Japan," etc., with many illustrations (London: The Religious Tract Society, 65, St. Paul's Churchyard, 1904). This is a cheap edition (1s.) of a well-known, interesting, and charmingly-written work on a region of the world as yet little known, but, as time flows, will become more and more interesting and important to Christian civilization and European commerce.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: *Report of the Administration of the Bombay Presidency for the Year 1902-1903*;—*Report of the Director of Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency for the Year 1902-1903*; also *Supplement*, and *Resolution reviewing the Reports of the Administration of the Local Boards in the Bombay Presidency, including Sind, for the Year 1902-1903* (Bombay: Printed at the Government Central Press, 1904);—*Census of India, 1901* (in three volumes, XXVI., XXVI.A., XXVI.B.), Travancore. Part I., Report; Part II., Imperial Tables; Part III., Provincial Tables, by N. Subrahanyan Aiyar, M.A., M.B., C.M., Dewan Peishkar - Census Commissioner (Trivandrum: Printed at the Malabar Mail Press, 1903);—*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*. Revue Philologique paraissant tous les trois mois (Hanoi: F.-H. Schneider, Imprimeur-Éditeur);—*The Board of Trade Journal* (with which is incorporated the *Imperial Institute Journal*), edited by the Commercial Department of the Board of Trade (Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, E.C.; Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh; Edward Ponsonby, Dublin);—*Sphinx*. Revue critique embrassant le domaine entier de l'Égyptologie publiée, avec la collaboration de MM. Basset, Daressy, Erman, Iacoby, Lefébure, Lieblein, Loret, Moret, Naville, Spiegelberg, Steindorff, par Karl Piehl (Upsala: C. J. Lundström, London: Williams and Norgate);—*Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* (Bombay: Bombay Education Society's Press; Luzac and Co., London);—*The Buddhist*, a monthly magazine, edited by D. B. Jayatilaka, B.A. (published by the Young Men's Buddhist Association, Colombo);—*The Sociological Society*, Report (London: 5, Old Queen Street, S.W.);—*Detailed Proposals for a Tariff Bill*, by a Candidate (Bolton's, Knightsbridge, London, 1904);—*Agricultural and Industrial Problems in India*, by Alfred Chatterton, Professor of Engineering on special duty, Madras (G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade, Madras);—*The Rapid Review* for February and March (C. Arthur Pearson, Henrietta Street, W.C.); George Newnes, Ltd.: *The Captain*, *The Sunday Strand*, *The Idler*, *The Strand Magazine*, and *The Wide World Magazine* for January, February, and March;—*The Century Book of Gardening*, parts up to 24;—*Technics*, a magazine for technical students;—*Biblia*, a monthly journal of Oriental Research

in Archæology, Ethnology, Literature, Religion, History, Epigraphy, Geography, Languages, etc. (Biblia Publishing Company, Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.);—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London: A. Constable and Co.);—*The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Madras Review*;—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder);—*The Contemporary Review*;—*The North American Review*;—*Public Opinion*, the American weekly (New York);—*The Living Age* (Boston, U.S.A.);—*The Monist* (The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*The Harvest Field* (Foreign Missions Club, London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The Light of Truth, or Siddhanta Deepika* (Black Town, Madras);—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, continuing "Hebraica" (University of Chicago Press);—*Canadian Journal of Fabrics* (Toronto and Montreal);—*The Canadian Engineer* (Toronto: Biggar, Samuel and Co.);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Zoophilist and Animals' Defender*;—*Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales*. Revue de politique extérieure, paraissant le 1<sup>er</sup> et le 15 de chaque mois (Paris: Rue Bonaparte 19);—*The Theosophical Review* (The Theosophical Publishing Society, 161, New Bond Street, London, W.);—*The Calcutta Review* (C. J. A. Pritchard, The Edinburgh Press, 47, Bentinck Street, Calcutta. Messrs. Kegan Paul & Co., London).

We regret that want of space obliges us to hold over the notices of the following works: *The Missions of the Church Missionary Society, and the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society in the Punjab and Sindh*, by the late Rev. Robert Clark, M.A. (London: Church Missionary Society, Salisbury Square, E.C., 1904);—*Le Palais d'Angkor Vat*, ancienne residence des Rois Khmers, par le General De Beylié (Hanoi: F.-H. Schneider, Imprimeur-Éditeur, 1903);—*The Peril of the Sword* (concerning Havelock's relief of Lucknow, etc.), by Colonel A. F. P. Harcourt, author of "Jenetha's Venture," etc. Dedicated by permission to F.-M. Earl Roberts, K.G., V.C. (Skeffington and Son, 34, Southampton Street, Strand, W.C., London, 1903);—*The Seven Golden Odes of Pagan Arabia, known also as the Moallakat*, translated from the original Arabic by Lady Anne Blunt, done into English verse by Wilfrid Scawen Blunt (London: Published by the translators. Printed and sold by the Chiswick Press, Tooks Court, Chancery Lane, 1903);—*Fasciculi Malayensis, Anthropological and Zoological Results of an Expedition to Perak and the Siamese Malay States, 1901-1902*, undertaken by Nelson Annandale and Herbert C. Robinson, under the auspices of the University of Edinburgh and the University of Liverpool. Supplement, map, and itinerary; also Part II., *Zoology* (Published for the University Press of Liverpool by Longmans, Green and Co., 39, Paternoster Row, London, New York, and Bombay,

1903);—*Le Messianisme dans l'Hétérodoxie Musulmane*, par E. Blochet (Paris: J. Maisonneuve, Éditeur);—*Stars of the Desert*, by Laurence Hope, author of "The Garden of Kama" (London: William Heinemann; New York: John Lane, 1903);—*Godward Ho! A Symposium specially issued for the Ananda Mission*, by Satyananda S. Sarma (Madras: Published by the Diffusion of Knowledge Agency, Triplicane, 1903);—*Aspects of the Vedānta, Idylls of Ancient Ind: Sakuntala*, by R. Vasudevā Row, B.A.; and *Hindu Social Progress*, by N. Subbarau Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L. (Madras: G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade, 1904);—Part II. of the *Lubābu'l-Albāb of Muhammad 'Awfi*, edited in the original Persian, with preface, indices, and variants, by Edward G. Browne, M.A., M.B., M.R.A.S.; Sir Thomas Adams, Professor of Arabic, Fellow of Pembroke College, and some time Lecturer in Persian in the University of Cambridge (London: Luzac and Co.; Leyden: E. J. Brill);—*Nyasaland under the Foreign Office*, by H. L. Duff, of the British Central Africa Administration, with illustrations and map (London: George Bell and Sons, 1903);—*The Middle Eastern Question, or Some Political Problems of Indian Defence*, by Valentine Chirol, author of "The Far Eastern Question," with maps, illustrations, and appendices (London: John Murray, 1903);—*Manchuria, and Korea*, by H. J. Whigham, author of "The Persian Problem," etc., with a map and illustrations (London: Isbister & Co., Limited, 1904);—*The Rise of English Culture*, by Edwip Johnson, M.A., author of "The Rise of Christendom," etc., with a brief account of the author and his writings (London: Williams and Norgate; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904).

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

**INDIA : GENERAL.**—The Nineteenth Indian National Congress was held at Madras during the three last days of 1903. Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose, the well-known Bengal orator, presided. In his speech, *inter alia*, he recommended the free education of the masses, and the admission of natives to the higher offices of administration.

The annual Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Educational Conference was also held at the end of December last. It was attended by 800 delegates from all parts of India. His Highness the Aga Khan presided. Papers on various subjects were read and many resolutions passed, one of which was in favour of female education upon a basis conforming to the customs and usages of Muhammadans.

The Indian Government has issued the text of a resolution dealing with Lord Curzon's scheme for the reform of education. It states that the existing methods require sweeping changes, and that competitive examinations for the public services should be abolished, and in its stead a system of candidates on probation substituted. The College curriculum to be raised, the Government assisting deserving colleges. Teachers to be specially trained, and the Education Department be given four extra officers to assist the present directors.

The "Official Secrets Bill" has been passed by the Legislative Council. The majority of the native members opposed the measure.

His Excellency the Viceroy made a tour during February in Eastern Bengal, and at Dacca laid the foundation-stone of a new college.

Lady Rivaz laid the foundation-stone of the Victoria Zenana Hospital at Delhi on February 19, a sum of Rs. 70,000 is to be spent on the building and its equipment, and Rs. 80,000 retained as funded capital. The Government has promised an annual contribution of Rs. 5,000 towards working expenses.

Mr. Frank Bodilly has been appointed a judge of the High Court of Judicature at Calcutta, in succession to Mr. Charles Henry Hill, who retires.

Mr. Lewis Moore, I.C.S., has been appointed judge of the High Court of Judicature at Madras, in the place of Sir Vembakam Bhashyam Aiyangar, K.C.I.E., resigned.

Mr. Erle Richards has been appointed an ordinary member of the Council of the Governor-General in succession to Mr. Thomas Raleigh, C.S.I., whose term of appointment has expired.

**INDIA : FRONTIER—TIBET.**—Colonel Younghusband, with the headquarters of the Mission, left Phari on January 9, and arrived at Tanu on the north side of the Tang La Pass. On January 17 eight Tibetan officials with 600 horsemen approached the Mission Camp at Tanu, and, after being interviewed by the secretary to the Mission, rode off towards Guru. Colonel Younghusband, who visited the Tibetan camp at Guru, had a hostile reception. The Tibetans refuse to fulfil the treaty of 1890, or to discuss a new one, till their claim for large tracts of country in Sikkim

is satisfied. They have prohibited trade between the Chumbi Valley and the rest of Tibet. The health of the Mission is good, notwithstanding the severe weather. The political situation is unchanged.

Tinput Jongpon, envoy of the Bhutan Government and a member of the Bhutanese Council, arrived at Phari on February 14 to pay a friendly visit to the Mission on behalf of the Tongsa Penlop and the Government of Bhutan. He proceeded afterwards to Tanu on a visit to Colonel Younghusband. Negotiations which there took place resulted in the granting full permission to survey and construct an alternative road, partly through Bhutanese territory, from the plains to Chumbi.

The demarcation of a portion of the Indo-Afghan boundary which adjoins the Mohmand country, fixed by the Durand agreement in 1893, is being arranged. A party under Major Roos-Keppel has proceeded to the Mohmand border beyond Dacca. The Governor of Jallalabad has been directed by the Amir to insure the safety of that officer and his party, so long as they are in Afghan territory, and proclamations have been issued to this effect to the Mohmands, Shinwari, and Kunar tribes.

The Khan of Nawagai was a guest of the Government at Peshawar in January last.

INDIA : NATIVE.—On the occasion of his installation, the Nawab of Bhawalpur promised annual grants, amounting to nearly Rs. 5,000, from his private purse, to different educational institutions, among which are the Muhammadan College at Aligarh, the Islamiah College at Lahore, and the Islamiah High School at Amritsar.

The marriage ceremony of Shrimant Guvaraja Fatehsing Rao, heir of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar, and the daughter of Ramchandra Rao Naik Nimbalkar, nephew of the Chief of Phultan, was performed in Baroda on February 4.

Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, C.I.E., senior councillor to his Highness the Maharaja of Mysur, having been offered, has accepted the Dewanship of Travancore. He will be succeeded by Mr. C. Sreenivasiengar, second councillor.

CEYLON.—The pearl fishery began on March 14. It is estimated that the yield will be 36,000,000 oysters, with a value of Rs. 960,000, (£64,000).

BALUCHISTAN.—The principal tunnel on the Quetta-Nushki line has been pierced, and is now available for traffic.

AFGHANISTAN.—The Amir has removed his brother, Sirdar Muhammad Umar Jan, from the governorship of Kabul, and has appointed his father-in-law, Muhammad Sarvar Khan, the Shahagassi in his place. Umar Jan and his mother Bibi Halima are under strict surveillance.

PERSIA.—Muhammad Ali Mirza, the heir to the throne and Governor-General of Azerbaijan, paid a visit to the Shah in February last.

The imports during 1902 and 1903 amounted in value to £5,000,000, and the exports to £3,300,000.

ADEN.—On January 7 an attack was made on a British party at Dthina, about 120 miles from Aden. One sepoy was killed and another wounded. The party fell back into the Fadthli country.



CHINA.—The Emperor has signed a commercial treaty by which American Consuls may now be sent to Mukden and An-tung. The Emperor has also ratified a commercial treaty with Japan. The Maritime Customs revenue for 1903 amounted to 30,500,000 taels.

An imperial edict has been published proclaiming the neutrality of China.

KOREA AND JAPAN.—The Japanese demands, which were formulated in a note to the Russian Government, in reference to the maintenance of the independence of Korea and China, and the withdrawal of Russia from Manchuria, were handed to the Russian Government last August. Counter proposals were submitted to Japan, which were rejected. After repeated discussions, the Japanese Government finally presented on October 30 its definite proposals. On February 6, the final proposals not having been complied with, the Japanese Government broke off diplomatic relations. On the same day the fleet sailed from Sasebo, one division, escorting transports, arrived off Chemulpho on February 8, when the Admiral ordered the two Russian warships to leave in twenty-four hours. The vessels left and attacked the Japanese fleet, but returned to harbour, and were blown up by their own officers. Another Japanese division attacked Port Arthur on the night of February 8-9, where three Russian vessels were torpedoed and crippled. In another action four other Russian ships were injured. On February 10 Japanese troops entered Seoul, and held the south port of Masampho as a naval and military base. Admiral Alexief, the Viceroy of the Far East, transferred his headquarters to Harbin, where the Russian army is now massing. On March 6 a Japanese fleet of seven vessels bombarded Vladivostock. Japan has negotiated a new treaty with Korea by which she guarantees its independence and integrity.

A Japanese domestic loan of 100,000,000 yen (£10,000,000) having been issued, Tokio contributed the whole amount. The Emperor has subscribed 20,000,000, the Bank of Japan 20,000,000, and the Nobles Bank 10,000,000.

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.—Sir John Anderson, K.C.M.G., of the Colonial Office, has been appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Straits Settlements and High Commissioner of the Federated Malay States, in the place of Sir Frank A. Swettenham.

EGYPT.—The accounts for 1903 show that the revenue amounted to £E12,463,700, and the expenditure to £E10,595,979, leaving a surplus of £E1,867,721. The expenditure includes £E253,037 representing the annual economy on the Privileged Debt. Of the surplus, £E1,124,121 has been paid into the General Reserve Fund, and the balance of £E743,600 remains at the disposal of the Egyptian Government. The excess of the actual receipts over the estimated receipts was £E1,463,700. The expenses include, for the first time, the charge of the reservoir annuity, half of which, £E75,648, became due and was paid in 1903.

The Budget receipts for 1904 are estimated at £E11,500,000, and the expenditure, including payments to the sinking fund of the loan, to the conversion and reserve funds, at £E11,410,000. The actual surplus will amount to £E927,000.

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'One hand on Scythia, th' other on the More.' —SPENSER.

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## CONTENTS.

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	PAGE
INDIA AND PREFERENTIAL TARIFFS: FROM THE INDIAN POINT OF VIEW. By Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E. . . . .	1
THE MODERN HISTORY OF TRIAL BY JURY IN INDIA. By T. Durant Beighton . . . . .	17
ON THE FAILURE OF LORD CURZON. By A. Rogers, late Bombay C.S. . . . .	53
EDUCATION IN CEYLON: A PLEA FOR ESTATE SCHOOLS. By A. G. Wise . . . . .	72
PRINCIPLES OF BRITISH LAND LEGISLATION IN INDIA. By Professor S. Sathianadhan, M.A., LL.D. Cantab. . . . .	88
QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM. By Professor Dr. Edward Montet . . . . .	103
THE MOSLEM CALL TO PRAYER. By Herbert Baynes, M.R.A.S. . . . .	109
THE AGE OF THE AVESTA FROM THE CRITICAL POINT OF VIEW. By Professor Lawrence Mills, D.D. . . . .	112
MOROCCO, THE LAND OF PARADOX. By Ion Perdicaris . . . . .	120
SOME NEW FACTS ABOUT MARCO POLO'S BOOK. By E. H. PARKER . . . . .	125
JAPANESE MONOGRAPHS. By Charlotte M. Salwey, M.J.S. . . . .	150
GENERAL WELSH. AN ANGLO-INDIAN WORTHY. By A. Francis Steuart . . . . .	166
PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION . . . . .	173, 399
THE MYSORE STATE: AN OBJECT-LESSON IN INDIAN ADMINISTRATION. By Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E. . . . .	225
SIMLA AND PREFERENTIAL TARIFFS. By "An Imperialist" . . . . .	236
THE VITAL IMPORTANCE OF OUR FISCAL RELATIONS—CEYLON. By R. G. Corbet . . . . .	255
THE LANGUAGES OF INDIA AND THE CENSUS OF 1901. By G. A. Grierson . . . . .	267
THE INDIAN UNIVERSITIES BILL OF 1903. By J. Kennedy, I.C.S. . . . .	287
MADRAS IRRIGATION AND INDIAN IRRIGATION POLICY. By W. Hughes, M.I.C.E. (Late Chief Engineer for Irrigation, Madras)	296
THE CYRUS VASE INSCRIPTION AND BEHISTUN. By Professor Lawrence Mills, D.D. . . . .	319
THE THATHANABAING, HEAD OF THE BUDDHIST MONKS OF BURMA. By D. H. R. Twomey, I.C.S. . . . .	326
THE SERVICES OF THE TURKS IN JOINING THE CIVILIZATIONS OF EUROPE AND ASIA. By E. H. Parker . . . . .	336
A RECENT TRIP TO THE ANCIENT RUINS OF KAMBOJA. By Lieutenant-Colonel G. E. Gerini . . . . .	355

	PAGE
<b>CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, ETC.</b>	188, 407
The Buddhist Assembly in Japan.—The Peasant Proprietors of India.—Indian Revenue and Land Systems.—Indian Taxation: the Salt Tax.—Malaria in India and the Colonies.—Russia in the Far East.	188—197
The Domiciled in India.—A Lost MS.—Gondokoro.—The Uganda Protectorate.—Southern Nigeria	407—415
<b>REVIEWS AND NOTICES</b>	198, 416
Three Rolling Stones in Japan, by Gilbert Watson.—The Diary of a Turk, by Halil Halid, M.A., M.R.A.S. Containing eight illustrations.—Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia, by the late W. Robertson Smith-Adams, Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. New edition, with additional notes by the author and by Professor Ignaz Goldziher, Budapest. Edited by Stanley A. Cook, M.A., Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, 1903.—The Bayard of India, by Captain Lionel J. Trotter.—New Lays of Ind. Personal Reminiscences of an Indian Civilian, by Aleph Ré.—The Expansion of Russia, 1815-1900, by Francis Henry Skrine, F.S.S., H.M.'s Indian Civil Service (retired); author of "The Life of Sir William Wilson Hunter," "An Indian Journalist" (with E. D. Ross), "The Heart of Asia," etc.—Voyage au Maroc, by E. Montet.—The First of Empires, "Babylon of the Bible" in the Light of Latest Research: An Account of the Origin, Growth, and Development of the Empire, Civilization, and History of the Ancient Babylonian Empire, from the Earliest Times to the Consolidation of the Empire in B.C. 2000, by W. St. Chad Boscawen, author of "From under the Dust of Ages," "Hebrew Tradition in the Light of the Monuments," "British Museum Lectures," etc.—Three Frenchmen in Bengal; or, The Commercial Ruin of the French Settlements in 1757, by S. C. Hill, B.A., B.Sc., officer in charge of the Records of the Government of India; author of "Major-General Claud Martin." With maps and plans.—Fasciculi Malayenses. Anthropological and Zoological Results of an Expedition to Perak and the Siamese Malay States, 1901-1902. Published for the University Press of Liverpool by Longmans, Green and Co., London, New York, and Bombay, 1903. Parts I. and II.—Ledger and Sword; or, The Honourable Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies (1599-1874), by Beckles Willson. With frontispiece in photogravure by Maurice Greiffenhagen, and other illustrations. In two volumes.—The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia, by R. Campbell Thompson, M.A.—The Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat, more especially of the Districts included in the Baroda State, by James Burge-s, C.I.E., LL.D., F.R.S.E., etc., late Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, and Henry Cousens, M.R.A.S., Superintendent Archaeological Survey, Western India. (London: Bernard Quaritch; Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co.; Luzac and Co. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co. Bombay: Thacker and Co., Limited.)—Service and Sport on the Tropical Nile: Some Records of the Duties and Diversions of an Officer among Natives and Big Game during the Re-occupation of the Nilotic Province, by Captain C. A. Sykes, R.I.I.A. With a map and illustrations from photographs and from drawings made by Major E. A. P. Hobday, R.F.A.—Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence, and Constitutional Theory, by Duncan Macdonald, M.A., B.D.; sometime Scholar and Fellow of the University of Glasgow, Professor of Semitic Languages in Hartford Theological Seminary.—Hinduism and Christianity, by T. E. Slater. Second and revised edition.—Did Jesus live 100 B.C.? by G. R. S. Mead, B.A., M.R.A.S.—The Advance of our West African Empire, by C. Braithwaite Wallis, F.G.S., F.R.G.S.; Fellow of the Colonial Institute, etc.; of the Cameronians (Scottish Rifles); late Acting District Commissioner, Sierra Leone Protectorate. With illustrations and a map.	198—210
Bushido, the Soul of Japan: an Exposition of Japanese Thought, by Inazo Nitobé, A.M., Ph.D., Tokyo, Japan, 2562 (1902).—China Past and Present, by Edward Harper Parker, Professor of Chinese at the Owens College, Manchester, formerly H.B.M. Consul at	

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OUR LIBRARY TABLE . . . . .	210, 432
SUMMARY OF EVENTS IN ASIA, AFRICA AND THE COLONIES . . . . .	215, 436

Muhammad Pasha Sherif, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, has resigned, and has been succeeded by Aziz Izzat Pasha, Aide-de-camp to the Khedive.

Mr. Vincent Corbett, the British Commissioner on the Caisse of the Public Debt, will succeed Sir Eldon Gorst as Financial Adviser to the Khedive.

SOMALILAND. — Early in January a reconnaissance surprised 2,000 dervishes at Jidballi, thirty-eight miles east of Badween, the enemy losing 80 killed and 100 wounded.

On January 10 the British attacked 5,000 dervishes, under the command of Hajji Yusuf Dolbahauta, who lost during the fight and subsequent retreat about 1,200 killed and many prisoners. Three British officers were killed and nine wounded.

The First Brigade (Manning's) reconnoitred to the eastward, the Second Brigade (Egerton's) left Jedballi on January 15, and crossed the Nogal Valley. By a sweeping movement, extending from Dumodle to Halin, a party of the enemy was surprised, and 50 of their spearmen were killed; 3,000 camels and 20,000 sheep were captured.

Whilst crossing the Sorl, the Mulla lost all his sheep and goats, but saved his camels. He is still in the Widali district. He has been informed by General Egerton that only his death or capture will terminate the operations against him.

The Abyssinians have returned to Gerloguby, having fulfilled the strategic purpose for which they started.

General Egerton has returned to Berbera, whence operations will be directed by telegraph. There are no regular troops south of Bohotle.

An advanced base has been formed at Lasdurea, 100 miles south-east of Berbera, General Manning and Major Brooke operating on the northern edge of the Nogal.

RHODESIA.—The Imperial Government has given its sanction to the imposition of a hut-tax of £1 per annum in Southern Rhodesia; this is an increase of 10s.

TRANSVAAL.—The result of General Delarey's mission to India has been that all the Boer prisoners interned at Ahmednagar, with the exception of ten, have taken the oath.

The Government has agreed to postpone the issue of the first £10,000,000 of the war contribution loan, guaranteed by mining firms.

A petition to the Government to pass the law for the importation of Asiatic unskilled labour has been signed by 70 per cent. of the white male adults.

An Extraordinary Session of the Inter-Colonial Council was opened on March 1 at Johannesburg. Its object was to consider the financial position in view of the decrease in railway receipts, the revenue for the current year having been estimated at £2,350,000, whereas they are not likely to exceed £1,600,000. It is estimated that with the original deficit of £680,273 to be made up by contributions from the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies, the sum now to be met is £1,019,250—viz., £120,000 by the Orange River Colony, and about £900,000 by the Transvaal.

As regards the guaranteed loan, the £30,000,000 had been spent as follows: Discharge of old liabilities, £4,600,000; acquisition of railways, £13,500,000; repatriation, £5,800,000; development, £5,100,000; capital expenditure on existing railways, £700,000; cost of the issue of the loan, £270,000.

The revenue for the half year ending December, 1903, amounted to £2,105,062, and the expenditure to £2,253,428. The exports for 1903 amounted to £12,908,092, including gold. The imports £19,531,048, and the Customs revenue £2,086,450, as compared with £13,067,671 and £1,578,774 in 1902.

The bursting of a reservoir in January in the ORANGE RIVER COLONY destroyed much property in Bloemfontein, and more than twenty lives were lost.

CAPE COLONY.—As the result of the resignation of the Sprigg Cabinet, a new Ministry has been formed: Dr. Jameson, Premier, with charge of native affairs; Colonel Crewe, Colonial Secretary; Mr. Walton, Treasurer; Mr. Victor Sampson, Attorney-General; Dr. Smartt, Commissioner of Public Works; Mr. Fuller, Secretary of Agriculture; Sir Lewis Michell, Minister without portfolio.

In the elections for the House of Assembly seventeen Bond candidates and seven Progressives were returned unopposed.

The imports into the Colony last year are valued at £34,685,020, as against £34,220,500 for 1902.

The Cape to Cairo Railway is expected to reach the Zambesi, at the Victoria Falls, this month (April). The next section to be built will be from the Zambesi north-east to Broken Hill (350 miles), in the direction of Lake Tanganyika.

WEST AFRICA: NORTHERN NIGERIA.—A rising has occurred among the Akapoto tribe south of the Binué. The British Resident, Captain D. S. P. O'Riordan, and Mr. C. Amyatt-Burney, District Superintendent of Police, have been killed.

An expedition over 500 strong, under the command of Colonel Montanaro, commanding the Southern Nigeria Regiment, started on January 6 from Itu, where it had concentrated, for the Ibibio country, a district which had not hitherto been visited by the white man. The object is to open up the country, which is thickly populated, with a view to the development of trade.

A serious anti-European rising has broken out in Southern Nigeria. This is supposed to be the work of a secret society known as "The Silent Ones," whose aim is the overthrow of white rule. The movement is not merely anti-missionary, but is directed against all the white population. A force of 300 troops has been despatched to the affected district, the country beyond Assaba.

The British Niger-Lake Chad Boundary Commission has safely reached Kuka, on Lake Chad, after having delimited the 1,000 miles of frontier along the Anglo-French boundary between the Niger and the Lake. The commission will return to England after visiting the islands in that portion of the Lake along which the boundary runs.

MOROCCO.—The Sultan has recalled his British employés to Fez

Serious riots have occurred at Marakesh, the southern capital. Torrential rains prevent any immediate action on the part of the Pretender and the revolted tribes.

AUSTRALASIA: COMMONWEALTH.—Lord Northcote, the new Governor-General, reached Melbourne on January 21, and was sworn in, and conveyed to the people a cordial message from the King.

On March 2 his lordship opened the Federal Parliament. In the course of his speech he said that preferential trade would secure to Australia an immense and stable market.

The Australian harvest is estimated to exceed the highest previous yield by 28,000,000 bushels.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—A *referendum* has decided that the membership of the Assembly shall be reduced from 125 to 90.

The revenue for the last six months of last year amounted to £5,310,413, as compared with £5,364,602 in the corresponding period of 1902. The value of the minerals produced during 1903 amounted to £6,059,486, an increase of £421,341 as compared with 1902. The gold yield was valued at £1,080,029, an increase of £395,059 as compared with the preceding year.

VICTORIA.—Major-General the Hon. Sir Reginald Talbot has been appointed Governor of the State in succession to Sir George Sydenham Clarke.

Mr. Irvine, the Premier, has resigned, owing to ill-health. Mr. Thomas Bent, Minister of Public Works, has been entrusted with the forming of a new Ministry.

The revenue for the last six months of 1903 amounted to £3,238,828, a decrease of £57,942 as compared with the previous year.

QUEENSLAND.—The revenue for the last six months of 1903 amounted to £1,818,000, as compared with £1,807,000 in the corresponding period of 1902. The expenditure amounted to £1,840,600, as compared with £1,864,500.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—The revenue for the last six months of 1903 amounted to £1,081,527, being an increase of £18,903 over that of the corresponding period of 1902.

Lord Plunket, K.C.V.O., will succeed Lord Ranfurly as Governor.

TASMANIA.—The Governor, Sir A. E. Havelock, acting under medical advice, has resigned.

NEW ZEALAND.—The revenue for the nine months ending in December last showed an increase of £486,000 over the revenue for the corresponding period of the previous fiscal year.

CANADA.—The Dominion Parliament met on March 10, and discussed the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Amendment Bill.

The Grand Trunk Railway Company has accepted the new agreement for the proposed trans-continental railway, and has deposited \$5,000,000 as a guarantee of the performance of the contract.

Mr. Carroll, the Solicitor-General, has become a judge, and Mr. R. Lemieux has succeeded him.

NOVA SCOTIA.—The revenue for the past year amounted to \$1,243,581,



being \$103,000 more than in the former year, and gives a surplus of \$66,250. Rich gold ore has been struck in the Caribon district, Halifax county, and also at Isaac's Harbour. Numerous deposits of copper and silver ores have been uncovered at Chehcamp, in the island of Cape Breton.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The Colonial revenues have increased by \$250,000 within two years, and trade has increased to the extent of \$1,000,000 annually during the past five years.

The Government has undertaken to renew the French shore *modus vivendi* for another year.

*Obituary.*—The deaths have been recorded during the last quarter of the following :—Mr. W. S. McClelland, formerly engineer to the Native States of Nowanagar and Cutch;—Mr. Ernest Ayscoghe Floyer, Inspector-General of Egyptian Telegraphs, and formerly of the Indian Telegraph Service;—Captain Leonard Robert Sunkersett Arthur, C.M.G. (Burma 1887-88, Zanzibar, Uganda, Gambia expedition);—Major-General George Bligh Bowen, joined the Native Infantry in 1847, and from 1871 Acting Commissioner of Police at Madras;—Colonel James Gavin Lindsay, late Royal (Madras) Engineers, and Chairman of the Southern Mahratta Railway Company (Central India 1857);—Colonel John Fletcher Caldwell, late of the South Wales Borderers (Kafir war 1877-78);—Raja Sir Sudhal Deo, K.C.I.E., Feudatory Chief of Bamra, Central Provinces;—Colonel Thomas Henry Sale, late of the Bengal Engineers, appointed 1830, retired 1859;—Rear-Admiral William Andrew James Heath, C.B. (Syria 1840, Baltic and Black Sea 1854-55, China 1857-59); Sir Edwyn Dawes, senior partner of the firm of Gray, Dawes and Co.;—Surgeon-Colonel Sir George Thomson, K.C.B. (Afghan war 1878-79, Chitral Relief Force 1895, Tirah Expeditionary Force 1897-98);—Colonel Thomas Walker, late of the Royal Artillery, formerly of the Bombay Artillery of the Honourable East India Company;—Major-General John Pennock Campbell, late commanding 1st Battalion East Lancashire Regiment (Eastern campaign 1854-55);—Diwan Bahadur S. Srinivasa Raghava Iyengar, C.I.E., Inspector-General of Registration at Madras;—Lieutenant-Colonel William Lettsom Gronow, late of the Manchester Regiment (Southern Afghanistan 1879-80);—Lieutenant Cyril Amyatt Wise Amyatt-Burney, District Superintendent of Police, Northern Nigeria;—Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Russell Cree, Royal Army Medical Corps (Sudan campaign 1885, South African war 1899-1900);—Captain W. D. Morrish, R.N. (Ashanti campaign 1873-74, Sudan 1884);—Mr. James Skinner, of Siswal, in the Hissar district;—Major Alexander Ramsay Stuart, Royal Garrison Artillery (Sierre Leone 1898-99, South African war);—Major-General Thomas Boone Everest Tennant, entered the Honourable East India Company's service in 1850;—Colonel Arthur Robert Wilson, late of the Bombay Staff Corps (Persian expeditionary force 1857);—Major Alfred Cranworth Worlledge, Army Pay Department (Zulu war 1879);—Lieutenant-General Sir Robert Grant (Nile expedition 1884-85);—Major-General James Graham Robert Douglas MacNeill, C.B., late of the Madras Infantry (Burmese expedition 1885-86);—Lieutenant-Colonel John

Thomas Maguire, a Military Knight of Windsor (China 1841-42, Panjab campaign 1848-49, Indian Mutiny campaign) ;—Major John Forbes Mosse, late of the Royal Irish Regiment (Nile expedition 1884-85) ;—Sir William Raymond Kynsey, late Principal Civil Medical Officer and Inspector-General of Hospitals in Ceylon (Ashanti war 1873-74) ;—Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. Horace Manners Monckton, late commanding the 3rd Hussars (Panjab camp 1848-49) ;—Captain Frederick Arthur Wyllie, of the Welsh Regiment and Burma Military Police ;—Captain Robert Dalkeith Jephson, Royal Army Medical Corps (Khartum campaign and South African war) ;—Mr. Frank Cowie, Indian Civil Service ;—Mr. Byramji Bhakiji Kanga, a well-known exchange and stock-broker of Bombay ;—Admiral of the Fleet the Hon. Sir H. Keppel (China 1841, Crimea, China 1857) ;—Commander Frank Foster Bone, R.N., retired (Egyptian war 1882) ;—Mr. Francis Stewart Cowie, Deputy Commissioner of Bhandara, Central Provinces ;—Mr. Walter G. Doggett, drowned in the Kagera River, Africa ;—Sir John McIntyre, a former President of the Board of Land and Works and Commissioner of Crown Lands in Victoria ;—Lieutenant-General Thomas Trevor Turton, late of the 5th Haidarabad Contingent (Rohilla insurrection 1855) ;—Lieutenant-Colonel George Herbert Palmer, late Royal Artillery (Ashanti war 1874) ;—Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Roche, late of the 72nd (Crimea, Mutiny) ;—Mr. A. T. Pringle, Assistant Secretary to Government in the Chief Secretary's Department, Madras ;—Her Highness the Rajmata Deo, mother of the Maharaja of Cooh Behar ;—Sir Graham Berry, formerly Premier of Victoria ;—Sir Hugh Guion Macdonell, G.C.M.G., C.B., formerly of the Rifle Brigade (British Kaffraria 1849-52), and afterwards of the Diplomatic Service ;—Mr. Harry Freeman-Cohen, a prominent South African ;—Major-General Douglas Hastings, late of the 78th and 62nd Regiments (Persia 1857, Mutiny) ;—Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin Bunbury Mauleverer, late of the 88th Regiment (Connaught Rangers) (Crimea, Indian Mutiny campaign 1857-58) ;—Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Joynt Gordon Grant, late of the Royal Sussex Regiment (Gambia 1853, Mutiny) ;—Major Knightley Owen Burne, of the 51st Sikhs (Waziristan expedition 1894-95, North-West Frontier campaign 1897-98) ;—Sir Edward Braddon, formerly of the Indian Government Service, and afterwards Premier of Tasmania 1887 (Santhal rebellion, Indian Mutiny) ;—General Sir Edward Lechmere Russell (Sind and Afghanistan 1842-43, Resident at Aden 1868-71) ;—The Right Rev. James Thomas Hayes, Bishop of Trinidad ;—Colonel Henry Gratton, late of the Royal Sussex Regiment (North China campaign 1860) ;—Captain Sir George Morice, R.N. (Crimea, China 1858, Egyptian war 1882) ;—Captain Frederick Arthur Wyllie, of the Welsh Regiment, shot by a dacoit in Burma ;—Captain Frederick Stoom Chapman (Egyptian war 1882) ;—Captain Charles Dugald Campbell, of the late Hon. East India Company's naval service 1827 to 1860 (Burmese expedition 1851-53) ;—Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Aspinwall, late of the 3rd Dragoon Guards (Egyptian war 1882, South African war 1901-02) ;—General C. A. Lewis, Colonel of the North Staffordshire Regiment (Canadian rebellion 1837, Crimea campaign) ;—Sir Edward James Ackroyd, formerly Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court of Hong Kong ;—Vice-Admiral Henry Bedford

## *Summary of Events*

Woolcombe (Kafir war 1852, Baltic 1854, China 1872-76);—Brigade-Surgeon W. H. Harris, A.M.S. (Crimea, Indian mutiny);—Lieutenant-William Oliver, R.N. (Burmese war 1885-87, Zanzibar 1896);—Mr. S. B. Ramaswami Iyengar, barrister-at-law, Chief Justice under Nawab Khurshidjah Bahadur (Haidarabad);—Lieutenant-General Donald Campbell Vanrenen, late of the Royal (Bengal) Artillery 1839-77;—Lieutenant-Colonel T. M. Jenkins, late of the Indian Staff Corps and Deputy Commissioner for Burma;—Lieutenant-General Charles Alexander McMahon, F.R.S., F.G.S., Hon. East India Company's service 1847-55 in the Madras Native Infantry;—General Sir Arthur Power Palmer, joined 5th Bengal Native Infantry 1857 (Mutiny, North-West frontier 1863-64, Abyssinia 1868, Duffa expedition 1874-75, Dutch war in Acheen 1876-77, Afghan war 1879-80, Sudan 1885, Chin Hills 1893, Tirah expedition, appointed Commander-in-Chief in India 1900);—Sir John Scott, formerly Vice-President of International Courts of Appeal for Egypt, and afterwards Judicial Adviser to His Highness the Khedive;—Captain G. H. F. Abadie, C.M.G., Second-class Resident at Zaria (Northern Nigeria 1899-1902);—Major the Hon. Henry James Anson, 2nd Battalion Highland Light Infantry (South African war 1899-1900);—General George Smart, late of the Madras Army (China expedition 1860);—Major-General Binfield Wemyss, of the Bengal Staff Corps (Afghan war 1879-80, Hazara expedition 1888);—Deputy-Surgeon-General William Bisset-Snell (North China campaign 1860);—Mr. J. Clarke, Resident Medical Officer Eden Sanatorium;—General Jeet Jang Bahadur Rana, formerly Commander-in-Chief of the Nepal army, son of Maharaja Sir Jang Bahadur, G.C.B.;—Mr. Chan Toon, barrister-at-law at Rangoon;—Major-General T. R. Nimmo, C.B. (Afghan war 1878-80);—Major W. E. Turnley, late of the Edinburgh Light Infantry Militia (3rd Royal Scots, Indian Mutiny campaign);—Captain G. Warneford, assistant political agent, assassinated near Aden;—Paymaster-in-Chief J. M. Lowcay, R.N., retired (Syrian war 1840, Mutiny);—Mr. Bean, postal superintendent to the Tibet Mission;—The Venerable Robert James French, Archdeacon of Mauritius;—General Hungerford Meyer Boddam, B.S.C. (Burmese war 1852-53, Sonthal campaign 1855);—Dr. Mohendro Lal Sircar, C.I.E., founder of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science;—Sir Edward Walter, K.C.B., founder of the Corps of Commissioners;—Admiral Sir Robert More Molyneux, G.C.B. (Russian campaign, Bombardment of Alexandria);—Captain the Hon. Reginald Ward, D.S.O. (South African war 1899-1902);—Darbar Shri Khachar Ala Chela, C.S.I., Chief of the Kathiawar State of Jasdan;—Sir Peter Arthur Halkett (India 1852, Crimea);—Colonel George Turner Jones, commanding Royal Engineers at Secunderabad (last Afghan war and defence of Candahar);—Sir Joseph William Trutch, K.C.M.G., formerly Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works and Surveyor-General of British Columbia, and afterwards Acting Resident Agent for the Dominion in British Columbia;—Sir Walter Joseph Sendall, G.C.M.G., formerly Governor of the Windward Islands and afterwards of the Barbadoes, and latterly of British Guiana;—Admiral Henry Boys (Beyrout and Acre 1840);—The Hon. Thomas Robert McInnes, an ex-Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia.

*March 17, 1904.*









